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ABSTRACT

This unit is designed to help students better understand the concept of nationalism and the powerful influence it has on group sentiments today. Nationalism can be a positive or negative force, providing avenues for either inclusion or exclusion of peoples. The unit focuses on the basic concepts of nationalism and identity by drawing upon historic and contemporary examples. Working definitions of nation, state, nation-state, sovereignty, and identity, will be developed through the exercises and readings. The changing geography of Europe as influenced by national and ethnic interests will be used as a vehicle to explore these concepts. The four lessons focus on the following: (1) "Identity--'Us' versus 'Them'"; (2) "Inside Europe"; (3) "From 'Rabble' to 'Nation'--The Emergence of Nationalism"; and (4) "Slugonia--Conflict in a Multinational State." (EH)

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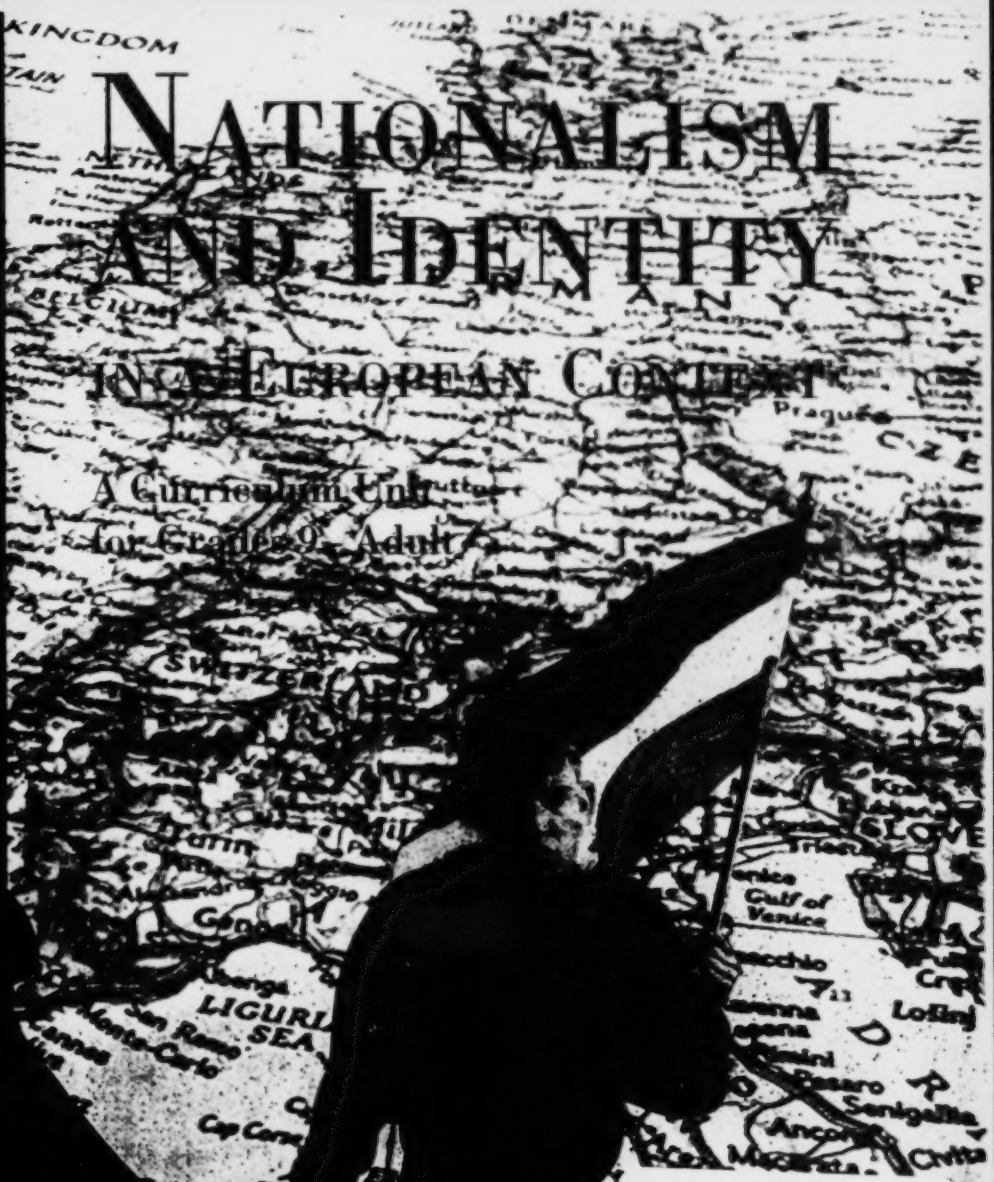
ED 390 731

NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY

IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

A Curriculum Unit for Grades 9 - Adult



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NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

A Curriculum Unit for History and Social Studies

Recommended for
Grades 9-Community College

Developed by

Reinhold Steinbeck

and the staff of the Europe Project
Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

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Unit Introduction

NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Rationale

The rampage of violence in the former Yugoslavia, the ethnic tensions throughout Eastern Europe, and the reemergence of neo-Nazi activity in Germany, France, and other Western European countries are but the latest indications that nationalism and ethnic particularism will be the critical factors in international politics of the post-Cold War era.

The concept of *nation* corresponds to the human need for belonging, group formation, and group identity, particularly under the conditions of an emerging global community. But the concept is also marred by the assumption that only one nation should exist under the roof of one state and that this state must dominate, to the tune of its national anthem, all other nations, both within as well as outside its borders.

This unit is designed to help students better understand one of the strongest group sentiments in the world today, nationalism, and the tremendous potential nationalism has had—and continues to have—to act both as a positive or a negative, inclusionary or exclusionary force throughout Europe and the world.

The unit focuses on the basic concepts of nationalism and identity by drawing upon historic and contemporary examples. Students will develop working definitions of *nation*, *state*, *nation-state*, *sovereignty*, and *identity*—individual, group, national, ethnic, and civic. The changing geography of Europe as influenced by national and ethnic interests will be used as a vehicle to explore these concepts. Students will trace the development of the concept of nationalism and its relationship to the rise of democratic ideas, in particular to the concepts of sovereignty and political legitimacy that occurred during and after the Enlightenment. The idea that sovereignty resides in and a government's legitimacy derives from "the people" provided the basis for eventually arguing that every nation has a right to its own state, as expressed in Woodrow Wilson's principles which asserted a nation's right to have its own state[1]. Finally, students will explore and look for effective strategies for managing competing ethnic, national, and state-centered interests.

unit introduction

About the Concept of Nationalism

The concept of nationalism is filled with enormous complexities—with inconsistencies, contradictions, and paradoxes. The varied meanings given to the word only begin the difficulties students might face when they study nationalism. Nationalism is a sentiment filled with emotional overtones, and definitions of nationalism are as numerous as the individuals who have attempted definitions. There is even a complete encyclopedia just on this one concept.[2]

Not only do people begin with different assumptions about nationalism and reach different conclusions, but nationalism itself has varied with time, place, and circumstances, and is continually changing. Nationalism works in a multiplicity of forms, some sharp and undisguised, some vague and hidden, some directed to cultural integration, others to political ends, some democratic in character, others tending towards authoritarianism or dictatorship. Nationalism has a tremendous potential to act both as a positive or negative force. It can be a force for unity, or a force for disruption and division. The nationalism of each group or nation is different from the nationalism of every other group or nation. If there is any agreement on any aspect of nationalism, it is this: nationalisms differ and change.

Other terms that are closely connected to the concept of nationalism can be equally confusing: *nation*, *nationality*, *ethnic group*, and *ethnicity*. Throughout the unit, you will find background information designed to help you and your students understand the context or some of the common elements in the definitions of these concepts and terms. Rather than focusing on one definition over another, it is important that students understand that the concept of nationalism varies and evolves.

In this curriculum unit, special efforts have been made to present major concepts and political, social, and ethical questions through flexible, innovative teaching methods and through the use of varied instructional materials that are engaging to students.

Unit Goals

- to compare the concept of personal and group identity to the concept of national identity
- to define, relate and distinguish key terms needed for understanding the concept of nationalism, such as *nation*, *state*, *country*, *nation-state*, *ethnic group*, *ethnicity*, *nationalism*, *sovereignty*, and *autonomy*
- to become aware of the conflicts resulting from the discrepancy existing in many European countries between state boundaries and national, ethnic, linguistic and/or religious identities
- to learn about the major changes that have taken place recently in the political geography of Europe

- to increase awareness of the fact that most European States are multi-ethnic and multinational
- to explore the reasons for national and ethnic conflicts firsthand and examine and develop approaches to channel different nationalities away from conflict and toward cooperation

Materials and Equipment

A number of handouts has been provided with each lesson to give students a range of different perspectives. The list of materials in each lesson states how many copies of each handout are required and how they should be distributed. When a handout on the materials list is followed by "see procedures," check the lesson plan to count the exact number of photocopies you will need. Other materials needed include:

- Overhead projector
- Colored paper
- Cassette recorder
- Butcher paper
- Felt pens
- Cassette

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This curriculum unit is designed to be used with students in grades 9-Community College, in particular for a Modern World History course. The activities in this unit focus on the concept of nationalism in a European context and may be a valuable supplement for those teachers who are focusing on some of the major and unresolved problems of the modern world.

Time and Suggested Sequence of Activities

Each of the unit's lessons can be integrated into your curriculum where it best suits your needs. However, we do recommend that you teach the unit as a whole. The following suggested sequence of activities will give you an idea of how the unit is designed:

- *Lesson One (suggested length: two to three class periods)*

How do we define ourselves? How do others define us? How do multiple identities create a conflict situation?

In this two-part lesson, students examine various aspects of personal and group identity and distinguish those aspects of identity that are unique to individuals and those that tie individuals to groups. They then develop working definitions of the key terms and concepts used throughout the unit. The lesson ends with a simulation that provides students with an experimental or discovery exercise to help them understand what it can mean to be a member of a majority or a minority nationality or ethnic group within a multinational state.

- *Lesson Two (suggested length: two class periods)*

How did the revolutionary events that ended the Cold War rekindle and increase ethnic tension and nationalistic sentiments through Europe?

After a brief cartoon analysis and mapping activity, students will perform a Readers' Theater. This activity will introduce them to various ethnic conflicts and nationalistic sentiments throughout Europe. Debriefing questions help the class to discuss the experience and what they learned from it.

- *Lesson Three (suggested length: one to two class periods)*

What are some of the major forces in history which have shaped the national identities and consciousness? How are these forces and ideas reflected in the arts

Students will begin to trace the development of the concept of nationalism and its relationship to the rise of democratic ideas. They will learn about the changing belief systems regarding the origins of political legitimacy and consider the bases upon which different governments claim legitimacy today. Using political and philosophical writings and the arts, students will analyze the complex interaction between forces, ideas, and events that produced particular national societies during the revolutionary era of the 18th-century.

- *Lesson Four (suggested length: one to two class periods)*

What are the various dimensions of conflict? How can one manage and resolve competing national and ethnic conflicts?

In this lesson, students are first introduced to, and familiarized with some of the key characteristics and mechanisms of conflict and conflict resolution. In a simulation students are then introduced to a hypothetical multinational state, Slugonia, which is on the brink of disintegration after the end of communist rule. Students play the roles of members of various national groups trying to solve a conflict situation. The lesson concludes with students considering ways in which interpersonal and international conflicts are related.

Icons

The following icons have been provided for ease of reference:

Student cards:

Group work:

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Notes to the teacher:

Homework:

Information:

Video tape:

General Background Information

The revolutionary events in Europe that began in the fall of 1989 with the collapse of the Berlin Wall released a momentum for radical change on a scale not seen in Europe for nearly half a century. But the guarded sense of optimism following the end of the Cold War, the hope that Europe—and the world—might be embarking upon a long-awaited period of peace and stability, existed only for the briefest of moments.

While restless energy and enthusiasm reigned throughout Europe in 1990, the following year brought the sobering realization that change might not happen easily. In the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, the forces of disintegration were gaining the upper hand. The Soviet Union crumbled away; what the Czars and the communists had amassed in territory for Russia now drifted apart again. The Velvet Revolution swept Czech dissidents into the offices of their oppressors, and only two years later the Czechs and the Slovaks parted ways peacefully, though not without considerable pain. In former Yugoslavia the smoldering hate between the various national groups exploded. There, in the mountains of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the dream of peaceful integration in Europe, nurtured by the events of 1989, met an early death.

Whether it is Serb and Croat militias attacking each other or German skinheads attacking foreigners, nationalism is reviving throughout Europe. The rallying to one's own national identity can also take subtler forms—the flying of a flag, the renaming of a town, the use of previously forbidden language. Nationalism, long suppressed in Eastern Europe, is once again a powerful force. For more than four decades, communism dominated Eastern Europe, and nationalism was a forbidden fruit. Like religion, nationalism offered a set of alternative allegiances that conflicted with the official ideology of the government. Political life in Eastern Europe is now open enough that the national minorities can organize themselves and demand autonomy; their leaders can run for parliament and travel. When every country in Eastern Europe was a communist dictatorship, no one really expected their political demands would be met, but these are times of rising expectations and rising tensions.

The collapse of communism also affected Western Europe, and the nationalism emerging in the East cast its shadow on the West and the European Community. After 35 years of continuing integration, many

unit introduction

Western Europeans regarded with suspicion the dual goals of further economic and political integration. This suspicion expressed itself in the initial rejection of the Maastricht Treaty by Denmark and the slim margin of its approval in the French referendum. The policies of closer European integration slid into ill-repute in other states as well.

By rejecting the European Economic Area (EEA) in a national referendum, the Swiss threw another wrench into further European integration. On a sub-national level, most regions such as Wales, Scotland or Catalonia, support the Maastricht Treaty. They figure that the more sovereign rights the Member States (UK, Spain, etc.) must give up and transfer to the supranational European Community, the more regional autonomy they will enjoy.

Even in Western Europe, ancient ethnic violence is endemic in certain areas, and nationalist movements have caused the deaths of thousands of Western Europeans. The Protestant majority in Northern Ireland favors continued union with Britain while the Catholic minority wants to join the rest of Ireland. More than 3000 people have been killed in fighting between British troops, Protestant paramilitary groups, and the Irish Republican Army since 1969. Nationalists claiming to represent three million Basques seek an independent state on the border of Spain and France. Since 1968, more than 800 people have been killed on both sides of the border.

Western Europe has also seen a surge in attacks on foreigners. An influx of hundreds of thousand of refugees from Eastern Europe and other areas has stirred anger since 1989 among right-wing groups, particularly in Britain, France, Germany, and Spain. In Germany alone, right-wing and neo-Nazi groups carried out more than 2,000 attacks on asylum seekers, resulting in 17 deaths and nearly 600 injuries. This vicious circle creates more and more violence. The French author Henry Minc calls this "populism and its traditional entourage: xenophobia, anti-Semitism, religious fundamentalism, and the search for scapegoats."

The lines on the map of Europe are boundaries between states, not peoples or nations, and most conflicts are actually disputes between nations or between nations and the state they are part of. The solution to ethnic and national conflicts might not lie in having a separate and sovereign state for each nation, nor in attempts to assimilate different nations. The challenge is to create civil societies based on ideas that can translate equally well into the different languages and the varied cultures of Europe.

Lesson One

IDENTITY—"US" VERSUS "THEM"

How do we define ourselves? How do others define us? How do multiple identities create a conflict situation?

Introduction

If 1992 bears any ideological stamp, it may be that of *national identity.* The turmoil in Eastern Europe and the shock waves that passed through Western Europe are two sides of the same coin. When large entities disintegrate, individuals tend to look inward and focus on smaller bonds and on what is important to them: tribe, clan, ethnic group, nation. These smaller entities provide stability and security to individuals during times when everything around them seems to fall apart. Wars are an extreme example of a crisis that forces a group to rally and defend itself.

The same focus on smaller bonds emerges during the creation of large entities that threaten the old and more familiar social and political structures. Western Europeans debate on what might be left of their national identity, if a United States of Europe were to develop. In both cases, individuals and groups tend to seek strength and support in their identity—even if elements of this identity are sometimes nothing else but fiction.

Identity and inner support are crucial to each group or community, but these needs quite often result in exclusion of anything foreign, an "us" versus "them": the "foreigners out" ideologies of the neo-Nazis in Germany, or the mentality as seen in politics of right-wing supporters of LePen in France, or the endless separation along ethnic and national lines in the Balkans.

In this lesson, students will make connections between the ways in which they think about their own identities and how these identities provide them with a feeling of belonging and a criteria for categorizing themselves and others. After being introduced to the key terms and concepts used throughout this unit, students will engage in a simulation that will increase their understanding of what it means to belong to groups with different identities within the same larger entity.

Objectives

- to reflect upon the various aspects of personal and group identities
- to relate classroom experiences in to a global situation

- to compare concepts of personal and group identity to the concept of national identity
- to gain an understanding of the key terms and concepts related to nationalism and identity
- to increase the understanding of what it can mean to be part of a larger group consisting of several smaller groups of different identities
- to appreciate the potential of conflict in a group consisting of smaller entities with different identities

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This lesson can be used when issues of personal and group identity are relevant, ideally when introducing the concepts of nationalism and ethnicity. This activity may also be a valuable supplement for minority studies.

Time

We recommend three class periods for this two-part lesson. Part 1, "Sources of our 'I'dentity" and "Key Terms & Concepts" can be covered in the first class period. Part 2, the simulation on identity, should be spread over two class periods. Ideally, the simulation and the debriefing should not be interrupted by a break.

Materials

- Handout 1A, *Key Terms & Concepts*, one copy per student
- Handout 1B, *Key Terms & Concepts—Answer Key*, one copy per student
- Handout 1C, *National Identity/Nationality*, one copy per student
- Handout 1D, *National Identity/Nationality—Answer Key*, one copy per student
- Handout 1E, *Who Am I?*, one copy per student
- Handout 1F, *Group One*, see procedures
- Handout 1G, *Group Two*, see procedures
- Handout 1H, *Group Three*, see procedures
- Handout 1I, *Observers*, see procedures
- Handout 1J, *Journal*, one copy per student
- Butcher paper, colored paper, felt pens and masking tape

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PART ONE: SOURCES OF OUR 'I'DENTITY

While the world is made up of unique individuals, it is also divided into relatively distinct social groups and categories. These groups can be considered to have an objective existence to the extent that members of different groups believe different things, dress in different ways, hold different values, speak different languages, live in different places, and generally behave differently.

Suggested Procedures

Explain to your students that while some of what makes each of us unique may be of an individual nature (individual identity), certain aspects of who we are tie us to others with whom we have certain things in common (group identity). These groups have a profound impact on who a person is, on her or his individual identity, and how she or he acts in certain situations.

1. Have the following list prepared to display (on board, overhead projector or butcher paper), but hidden from student view:

SOURCES OF OUR 'I'DENTITY

Age	**Skills**
Family	**Religion**
Race	**Education**
Language	**Hobbies**
Country of Origin	**Class**
Ethnicity	**Gender**
Community/Neighborhood	**Village/Town/City**

2. Write on the board or overhead the following question:

   Who am I?

   Ask students to think about the question for a minute and then to quickly jot down five things that they think are important in defining who they are (besides their name!).

3. Display the various categories of identity. Ask students to explore their own lists and figure out where the different things they wrote down fit into these categories. Give them enough time to pair things up.

4. Ask students whether they wrote down things that do *not* fit into any of the categories on the list. Generate additional categories to accommodate what students have listed, as necessary. Some possibilities might be geographic affiliation (e.g., Californian), certain physical attributes, club (or gang) affiliation, etc.

5. Ask students to identify which elements in the list define aspects of identity that are usually unique to an *individual*. Which are most often used to define *groups of people*? *(Ethnicity, socio-economic class, religion, language, etc.)* Are there any items on the list that tie everyone in the class together in a common group? (They are all teenagers[age]; they all attend the same school/class [education], etc.)

6. Ask students to find any items on the list that tie some people together in one group and others together in a different group. Point out that any individual is at once a member of many different reference groups (e.g., a male Buddhist Australian surfer), but is unlikely to be a member of mutually exclusive categories, such as a Democrat or Republican in the United States Also point out that groups or social categories do not exist in isolation. A group or a social category (such as ethnicity) only exists in contrast with another.

7. Ask students to look again at the five things they originally wrote down. Ask the following question:

   Is any one of these aspects of your identity more important than all the others?

   Allow your students to express themselves, but lead the discussion toward an acknowledgment that it is all of these different aspects together that make us who we are.

8. Lead a group discussion using the following questions:
   - What parts of our identities feel innate? acquired? learned?
   - What is the difference between being "labeled" by other people and "identifying" ourselves?
   - Which aspects of our identities are most influential in our daily lives? Why? Which aspects of our identities do we think about less frequently?
   - In what ways can a deep understanding of our identities help us to understand other peoples' perspectives?

Key Terms & Concepts

To better understand each of the activities in this curriculum unit, it is important that students be able to recognize certain terms and concepts. Keep in mind that many of these concepts and terms are filled with enormous complexities, and any short definition or description cannot take into account all the different aspects of these concepts. For instance, as with so many other "isms," scholars from different disciplines disagree on a definition of nationalism. Definitions of *nationalism* are as numerous as the individuals who have attempted definitions!

9. Divide the class into groups of four. Distribute a copy of Handout 1A, *Key Terms & Concepts*, to each student.

10. Ask students to brainstorm and discuss the meanings of the terms. Tell them to write definitions for each term.

11. Distribute a copy of Handout 1B, *Key Terms & Concepts—Answer Key*, to each student and ask the students to compare the definitions they reached in the brainstorming period with those listed on Handout 1B.

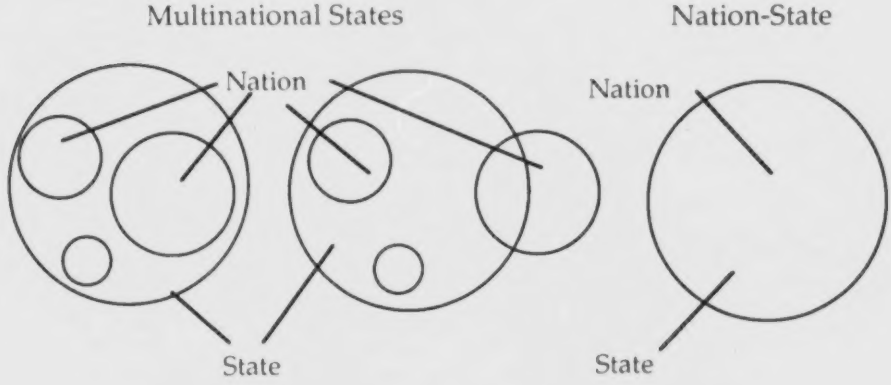
12. Ask students to consider other factors in their definitions. Be sure to include additional dimensions students may propose.

13. Distribute a copy of Handout 1C, *National Identity/Nationality*, to each student. Give students enough time to discuss the questions in their groups.

14. Distribute a copy of Handout 1D, *National Identity/Nationality—Answer Key*, to each student and debrief the handout with the entire class.

15. Ask students to draw a Venn Diagram (described below) that best describes both a *Multinational State* and a *Nation-State*, showing the relationship between a state and a nation. Ask them to label the state and political boundaries on the diagram.

    Venn Diagrams: Graphic modeling borrowed from the field of mathematics offers a way for students to diagram and discuss relationships between and among groups. Some Venn diagrams are shown below:



16. Conclude this portion of lesson 1 by distributing a copy of Handout 1E, *Who Am I?*, to each student.

About Multinational States, Nation-States, and Nationality

Although most modern states are built on the old *nationality principle*, there are only a few states to which this principle applies completely. Many nationalities, especially in Eastern Europe, were divided when state borders were (re-)drawn to establish new countries. Others were artificially brought together. Most contemporary states are in fact multinational states with a number of nationalities coexisting within a single political structure. However, only a relatively small number of states make constitutional or other legal provisions for their multiple nationalities. It is in this framework that issues of minority rights within a state arise.

The nationality principle is based on the idea that every state should have its nation and that every nation should have its state. Or, in other words, two different dimensions of national identity—civic and ethnic—come together in the "ideal" construction of the "nation-state": nationhood and citizenship are the same.

In the real world, the two dimensions of national identity are often mixed together: the shared sense of common history, religion, language, symbols and values that defines the identity of individuals and binds them together (ethnicity), and the set of ideas that defines the identity of the individuals who join together to form a state and a government that protects their rights and their interests (citizenship). However, which of these two dimensions is emphasized as most important makes a very big difference in how people think about their national identity. Americans, for instance, mostly think of national identity as equal to or the same as citizenship. In Eastern and Western Europe, people mostly think of nationality as equal to ethnicity.

The trend of modern European history, to unify the ethnic and civic dimensions of national identity to make ethnicity and citizenship the same thing, is what is often referred to as the positive, unifying force of nationalism. The formation of the modern nation-state was based on the idea of a shared ethnic identity, a national language, and a common culture.

The negative and destructive force of nationalism can be seen when not all citizens consider themselves to be members of the same nation, although they belong to the same state. In this case, the nation-state may attempt to impose policies and values intended to assimilate the nonnational or the subnational members into the dominant national mold. In extreme cases, social groups identified as nonnational will be excluded, isolated, expelled, or destroyed. This extreme form of nationalism found its most notorious expression in German Nazism, which, linked to a virulent form of racism, led to the genocide of the European Jews and Gypsies.

The majority of Western European states have followed a process of national integration or consolidation by a dominant nation. The

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dominant nation has been able to either create for itself or to take control of the state apparatus, subordinating other nations in the process. In Britain, for example, the so-called Celtic fringe, composed of the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish, was thus subordinated to the dominant and majority English nation. The French nation established its dominance over the Bretons, the Corsicans, and the Alsatians. In Spain, Basques, Catalans, and other regional and linguistic groups were subordinated politically to the Spanish state. Still questioning the traditional Spanish-dominated model of nation-state, these groups have obtained regional autonomy in the post-Franco Spanish democratic constitution.

In Eastern and Central Europe, where the borders, the governments, and even the names of countries have changed countless times, people stayed put, and the countries moved. New states organized as a result of the dissolution of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires according to the nationality-principle, but many of them included sizable national minorities. Others, such as the former Yugoslavia, were structured as multinational states. Economic uncertainty and the presence of multiple nationalities or sizable national minorities within the countries of Central Europe, particularly when such national minorities identify with the national majority in neighboring countries is a volatile mix in the hands of nationalists. The mixture of nationalities within states has created many serious issues for the people of Eastern Europe.[3]

PART TWO: IDENTITY—SIMULATION

Simulation Overview

The following simulation is designed to provide students with an experimental or discovery exercise to help them understand the conflicts between groups of different identities. Before students can grasp the significance of multinational states and the potential of conflict different identities can create within these states, they must clearly understand and experience what it means to belong to smaller groups of different identities within the same larger entity. Ambiguity has been built into the simulation to place the burden on the participants to make personal decisions regarding their own values, norms, beliefs, and behavior when they have to deal with groups with different identities.

This simulation highlights the differences between various group identities, not because we believe people are more different than alike, but because we hope to create a forum in which participants can reflect on their own and others' behavior when confronted with different identities, beliefs, norms, and values. We also hope that students will recognize the destructive potential of one of the strongest group sentiments in the world today—nationalism.

Students are divided into three groups of unequal size, with each group being given a distinct identity with its own symbolic objects. In addition, each group has to decide what values, norms and beliefs these symbols represent. Each group should be allocated its own area within the classroom.

Although each group shares some characteristics with the other groups (for example, they are all students of the same class), the groups are quite different when it comes to their identities. Each group sees itself as a separate entity within the class, and each particular group's identity is of utmost importance to that group.

In this simulation, the classroom represents the state—the political entity—and the individual groups represent various nations, each with a distinct identity. Though all the students are in the same class, they don't necessarily consider themselves to be members of the same group. The identity with the class would be identical to civic identity in a real-life situation, and a change of borders, as has happened countless times in Europe, would mean splitting the class—and consequently one or more groups—arbitrarily. If a group within the class wanted to have its own class, this would be analogous to a nation such as the Croats declaring its independence from the state of Yugoslavia. Many more similarities between the classroom simulation and real-life situations can be drawn.

In the simulation a conflict situation is created when the class is asked to participate in a school competition in which they have to create a song, a flag or a motto, and other objects and activities that symbolize the identity of the class as a whole. Each group's goal is to make sure that the

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symbolic objects and activities used to represent the class are identical with the symbolic objects and activities of its own group.

In the debriefing, students will be asked questions related to intragroup behavior (e.g., group solidarity, collective behavior, conformity, de-individualization) as well as intergroup behavior (stereotyping, the way the other groups are perceived, the way groups perceive themselves).

About Simulations

A simulation is an important learning activity that involves students in roles where they must think and act in a situation which is similar to one in real life. Although never able to duplicate the complexity of a real event or teach specific facts, a simulation may allow students to exercise some of the problem-solving skills and experience some of the feelings that occur in a real event. A simulation should never be treated as "only a game." Good simulations have the capacity to generate very strong thoughts and feelings in their participants, and the teacher always should be prepared for that possibility.

The role of the teacher in a simulation is critical. The teacher serves as an orientation leader and a facilitator. It is important to experience the simulation yourself before introducing it to your students. Invite your friends or colleagues to participate with you.

A simulation is run most successfully when participants have had a clear, concise introduction to its framework. As rules and roles are explained, time should be allowed for questions and practice. The facilitator should avoid comments or answers that suggest strategies or infer outcomes.

During the simulation, the facilitator should carefully observe the proceedings and take notes that might help the debriefing. Because of the open-ended structure of a simulation, the students will sometimes select strategies that don't work, and communications may sometimes be tense and difficult. Unless the participants' safety is jeopardized, the facilitator should not coach or intervene in the interaction and should allow students the opportunity to solve problems directly.

Debriefing a simulation is essential. Unless there is adequate time for debriefing, a simulation should not attempted. Missing or inadequate debriefing may leave a residue of misunderstanding and misinformation, which may have negative consequences both in and outside the classroom. Equally important is the opportunity for reflection and learning. Debriefing questions are generally provided with the simulation, and they should include questions that elicit the following:

- a description of what happened
- strategies that were attempted and their results

- other strategies that might have been possible
- analogies to real-life situations and a discussion of how this was the same or different
- how the situation related to the students' own values and their subsequent actions during the simulation
- how the participants felt during the simulation and how they are feeling afterward (both as members of groups in which they participated during the simulation and as individuals)

Traditional evaluation methods generally are not appropriate for simulations. Students should never be evaluated for their participation in the simulation itself. Many teachers have found an effective evaluation activity to be a journal entry or other writing exercise in which students summarize their insights from the activity and its debriefing.

Simulations are often noisy and sometimes confusing because of the uncertainty of the outcome. They require considerable flexibility. Yet their potential for developing deeper understandings of key concepts and increased skills in decision making, communication, negotiation, and conflict management remains high, making them an important learning tool.

Running the Simulation

The simulation requires a minimum of 75 minutes. Select three students who will act as *observers* and divide the remaining students into three groups, one *majority* or *dominant* group comprising 60 per cent of the students, and two *minority* groups, comprising 25 percent and 15 percent of the students. The *observers* will record the activities of a group of their choice. Each group will have its own classroom section. If possible, there needs to be some open space between the individual sections. Each group should have all the materials they require for the simulation (butcher paper, colored paper, felt pens, scissors, masking tape, etc.) in their areas.

Suggested Procedures

1. Assign students to the roles of observer and to the three groups. Distribute copies of Handout 1F-1H, *Group One-Group Three*, to each group. Each student in a group should have a copy of the same handout. Within their groups, students read over the instructions and then begin with their task. Remind students that they have 20 minutes to finish their task.

2. Distribute one copy of Handout 1I, *Observers*, to each of the observers. Tell them to pay careful attention to the activities of their group. The observers will have to report back to the class on what they observe.

3. Ask each group to present their flag and their song as well as other symbolic objects and activities to the rest of the class. Tell them to

explain to the rest of the class what these symbols represent and how they feel about them. Start with Group One.

4. After each group has presented its song and other symbols, tell the students that they will have five minutes to create *one* flag and *one* song as well as other symbols that would represent the identity of the *class as a whole*. Remind observers to stay with their group.

5. Stop the action after five to ten minutes and ask the students to return to their areas. Tell them that the principal has decided to divide the class into two classes, with the two smaller or minority groups and 1/4 of the larger or majority group forming the first class. The remaining 3/4 of the majority group will form the second class. Regroup the class according to these figures and create some open space between the two new classes. The observer who was assigned to the original majority group should stay with the second class, now consisting of only 3/4 of the original majority group. The remaining two observers should stay with the first class.

6. Tell them that similar to their previous task, they will have three minutes to create *one* flag and *one* class song as well as other symbols that would represent the identity of the newly formed classes. Again, the flag, the song, and other symbolic objects and activities have to represent the identity of the newly-formed *class as a whole*.

In order to create enough room for individual interpretation by the players, and to allow students to make personal decisions, the guidelines and directions for this part of the simulation are intentionally vague. During the debriefing, the observers will be asked how students made decisions both within their own groups and between the groups (e.g., did the groups make decisions democratically? Did a leader emerge within a group who manipulated the decisions of that group? How did the majority group deal with the minority groups?).

Simulation Debriefing

Debriefing is the most important part of this activity, for it allows students to reflect upon the thoughts and feelings generated by the activity and hopefully to obtain a beginning understanding of both the inclusionary and exclusionary—the unifying and the destructive—potential of rallying to one's own national identity. The minimum amount of time that should be spent debriefing is 20-30 minutes. Record students' comments and answers either on the blackboard or a large piece of butcher paper.

After asking some general questions about how students felt during the simulation, ask the observers to report back to the class. You might then want to ask the whole class some of the following questions:

About intergroup interactions:

- How did the three groups interact with each other, before and after the principal decided to divide the class into two? *(Did each group send a representative or two depending on their representation within the class? Did your group act collectively, or did individual members of the groups interact with each other?)*
- Was it easy to solve the conflict? Why did it seem to be so difficult to reach a compromise between the three groups? *(Ethnic and national conflicts are predominantly conflicts between identity groups, though they are also to some extent conflicts between interest groups, especially when these ethnic and national groups exert power over limited resources and/or territory. Conflicts between identity groups are about basic values and beliefs that cannot be bargained over or negotiated, in contrast to the bargaining and compromise reached between interest groups that happen to have opposing, but negotiable interests.)*
- Did all three groups agree on a common flag and song? If so, how did each group feel? How did each group feel after the principal divided the original class into two?
- What are other possible developments in this conflict? *(The dominant group might choose its symbols and song for the entire class and force the minority groups to give up theirs [assimilation]. The dominant group could try to force the minority groups out of the classroom. The minority groups could separate and try and form their own classes and get their own classrooms. Each group could be allowed to keep its symbols in its area of the classroom, and they could create a common flag and song for the entire class.)*
- Do you think the kinds of things you experienced in this activity occur in the "real life" as well?

About intragroup interactions:

- How did you make decisions within your group? How did leaders develop in your group? *(By majority? Was there a leader who forced his/her opinion onto the rest of the group? Did the group follow his/her directions?)*
- How did you feel about the decision of your group? *(Did you identify with the decision? If not, did you feel you had to conform?)*
- How did you experience your group/the other two groups? *(Is your group a homogeneous or a diverse group? How did you perceive the other two groups?)*

To bring this lesson to a close, assign a journal writing activity by distributing a copy of Handout 1J, *Journal*, to each student.

KEY TERMS & CONCEPTS

Terms & Concepts	Definition
Nation *(define name and an example)*	
State *(define name and an example)*	
Citizenship	
Plural Society	
Self-determination	
Separatism	

KEY TERMS & CONCEPTS—ANSWER KEY

Terms & Concepts	Definition
Nation	Nations should not be confused with states. A nation is a group of people who share a *common history, religion, language, activities, symbols, and values.* Unlike ethnic groups, nations have expressed and acquired some sort of *political (national) consciousness.* Native American tribes are considered nations, even in the absence of a typical state structure or identifiable state borders. In Eastern Europe, many different nations were divided when artificial borders were drawn to create new states. Others were artificially brought together. Yugoslavia, for instance, consisted of many different nations, such as the Croat nation, and the Serb nation.
State	States are political and legal entities that *exercise sovereignty* over a specific territory and wield power over its inhabitants. Most states are *multinational.* Although the opening phrase of the preamble of the UN Charter refers to the "peoples of the United Nations," the United Nations is an association of states, not of nations or peoples. California and New York are federal "states," which means that they are part of a federal government which retains the final authority, functioning as a sovereign state.
Citizenship	A citizen is a person owing allegiance to and entitled to the protection and the rights and privileges of a sovereign state.
Plural Society	A pluralistic, multinational state is one where all of the various nationalities are allowed to develop separately while interacting primarily in only functional areas. That is, they may share skills and trade with each other under a common government, which guarantees each one its separate cultural development.
Self-determination	Self-determination is the right of a nation to have its own state, free of foreign domination, and to freely determine its political status and freely pursue its economic, social, and cultural development.
Separatism	Separatism includes a range of activities that groups pursue if they no longer want to be part of a particular state. They seek separate development, which they believe can only be ensured outside the dominant cultural context.

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National Identity/Nationality

The concept of nationality, or national identity, is a confusing one. One source of the confusion lies in the fact that nationality consists of the following two dimensions:

Comment on the following questions:

1. What is each of the two dimensions of national identity based on?
2. Can you find other words that would describe the two dimensions of national identity?
3. Which one of the two concepts of national identity is emphasized in your country?
4. Which idea of a country more easily accepts a mixture of different kinds of people as part of that country ("inclusive")—a country in which the civic dimension of national identity is emphasized, or a country in which the ethnic dimension of national identity is emphasized. Support your answer.
5. How would you define a nation-state?
6. How would you define nationalism, keeping in mind the two dimensions of national identity?

National Identity/Nationality—Answer Key

Ethnicity ("Nation")

A shared sense of common history, religion, language, symbols, and values defines the identity of individuals and binds them together. Each nation is seen as naturally unique and separate from all others.

Citizenship ("State")

A set of ideas defines the identity of the individuals who join together to form a state government that protects their rights and their interests. Whoever the people are or whatever their cultural background might be, this set of ideas and the protection of their rights and interests is what matters most.

Nation-State

Every state should have its nation; every nation should have its state.

The civic and the ethnic dimensions of national identity come together, and the concept of nationhood and citizenship are the same. To unify the ethnic and civic dimensions—to make ethnicity and citizenship one and the same thing—is what is often referred to as nationalism.

Exclusive Ethnic Identity

Inclusive Civic Identity

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WHO AM I?

Describe the different aspects of your identity. What makes you unique? How do others define you? Why does group identity sometimes take the form of "Us" against "Them?" What are the advantages and disadvantages of group identity? Illustrate with pictures and symbols from magazines and newspapers or with your own drawings the various aspects of your identity.

GROUP ONE

Your History

You have been sitting together as a group in this part of the classroom for many years. You like your area—it means a lot to you. You hold very similar values, believe in the same things, like the same music, the same clothes, and after class you all engage in the same sport. Over the years you have even created special greetings when you meet each other.

Your Identity

Of course you are all in the same class, but it's the belonging to this particular group that really matters to you. The sense of group belonging that you have developed over the years and your values and beliefs are reflected in certain symbolic activities and objects. For instance you all like the color *yellow*, and the *shape of circles* has a very special meaning to you and your group. It's difficult for you to understand how anyone could like another color or shape.

Your Task

The principal in your school has announced a schoolwide competition, in which each class is asked to *present a song and a flag* which will reflect its identity to a jury of teachers who will visit all the classes in the school. This will be a special occasion, and each class is expected to decorate its classroom and wear the clothes that they like best.

Since you feel very strongly about your own group's identity, you want the class song and the flag, as well as your classroom, to reflect your own views, opinions, beliefs, and practices.

As a group:

- discuss and decide which things you consider important in defining your group and in creating a sense of unity and pride. Think in terms of common beliefs, values, practices, etc.
- discuss and design a flag and other symbolic objects that will reflect your group's identity
- discuss and create a song and other symbolic activities that will reflect your group's identity

Remember that the color *yellow* and the *shape of circles* mean a lot to you and your group.

Time and Procedures

You will have 20 minutes for your task. Decide in your group how you will proceed with your task and who will be responsible for which part of the group task.

You will then have to introduce your flag and your song, as well as other symbolic objects and activities, to the rest of the class, explaining to them what they mean to you and why you feel strongly that they should be chosen for the class theme.

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GROUP TWO

Your History

You have been sitting together as a group in this part of the classroom for many years. You like your area—it means a lot to you. You hold very similar values, believe in the same things, like the same music, the same clothes, and after class you all engage in the same sport. Over the years you have even created special greetings when you meet each other.

Your Identity

Of course you are all in the same class, but it's the belonging to this particular group that really matters to you. The sense of group belonging that you have developed over the years and your values and beliefs are reflected in certain symbolic activities and objects. For instance you all like the color *purple*, and the *shape of squares* has a very special meaning to you and your group. It's difficult for you to understand how anyone could like another color or shape.

Your Task

The principal in your school has announced a schoolwide competition, in which each class is asked to *present a song and a flag* which will reflect its identity to a jury of teachers who will visit all the classes in the school. This will be a special occasion, and each class is expected to decorate its classroom and wear the clothes that they like best.

Since you feel very strongly about your own group's identity, you want the class song and the flag, as well as your classroom, to reflect your own views, opinions, beliefs, and practices.

As a group:

- discuss and decide which things you consider important in defining your group and in creating a sense of unity and pride. Think in terms of common beliefs, values, practices, etc.
- discuss and design a flag and other symbolic objects that will reflect your group's identity
- discuss and create a song and other symbolic activities that will reflect your group's identity

Remember that the color *purple* and the *shape of squares* mean a lot to you and your group.

Time and Procedures

You will have 20 minutes for your task. Decide in your group how you will proceed with your task and who will be responsible for which part of the group task.

You will then have to introduce your flag and your song, as well as other symbolic objects and activities, to the rest of the class, explaining to them what they mean to you and why you feel strongly that they should be chosen for the class theme.

GROUP THREE

Your History

You have been sitting together as a group in this part of the classroom for many years. You like your area—it means a lot to you. You hold very similar values, believe in the same things, like the same music, the same clothes, and after class you all engage in the same sport. Over the years you have even created special greetings when you meet each other.

Your Identity

Of course you are all in the same class, but it's the belonging to this particular group that really matters to you. The sense of group belonging that you have developed over the years and your values and beliefs are reflected in certain symbolic activities and objects. For instance you all like the color *brown*, and *asymmetric forms and shapes* have a very special meaning to you and your group. It's difficult for you to understand how anyone could like another color or shape.

Your Task

The principal in your school has announced a schoolwide competition, in which each class is asked to *present a song and a flag* which will reflect its identity to a jury of teachers who will visit all the classes in the school. This will be a special occasion, and each class is expected to decorate its classroom and wear the clothes that they like best.

Since you feel very strongly about your own group's identity, you want the class song and the flag, as well as your classroom, to reflect your own views, opinions, beliefs, and practices.

As a group:

- discuss and decide which things you consider important in defining your group and in creating a sense of unity and pride. Think in terms of common beliefs, values, practices, etc.
- discuss and design a flag and other symbolic objects that will reflect your group's identity
- discuss and create a song and other symbolic activities that will reflect your group's identity

Remember that the color *brown* and *asymmetric forms and shapes* mean a lot to you and your group.

Time and Procedures

You will have 20 minutes for your task. Decide in your group how you will proceed with your task and who will be responsible for which part of the group task.

You will then have to introduce your flag and your song, as well as other symbolic objects and activities, to the rest of the class, explaining to them what they mean to you and why you feel strongly that they should be chosen for the class theme.

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OBSERVERS

The group you are observing was given the task to create a song and a flag that will reflect the identity of their class and will be used in a schoolwide competition. After 20 minutes, your group will present its song and flag to the rest of the class. The final goal is that the entire class will come up with one song and one flag for the entire class.

After all the groups have presented their flags and songs, and after they have tried to come up with one flag and one song for the entire class, the principal decided to split the class into two classes.

As observer, you must pay careful attention to the activities going on in your group. You will be asked to report back to the class on what you observe. Use the following questions as guidelines:

- How did your group reach a decision? Did any leaders develop in your group? If so, how did they develop?
- How did your group interact with the other groups? Where they able to come up with one song and one flag representing the identity of the entire class?
- How did your group react after the principal divided the class?

JOURNAL

Comment on the following questions:

- Should a majority impose its will on the minority? If so, to what extent is such imposition justified?
- How far may a minority go in preserving its traditions without diminishing unity?
- Where does "minority identity" end and "majority loyalty" begin?

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Lesson Two

INSIDE EUROPE

How did the revolutionary events that ended the Cold War rekindle ethnic tensions and nationalistic sentiments throughout Europe?

Introduction

This two-day lesson, *Inside Europe*, combines a Readers' Theater and an improvisation. Students will work together in small groups to sort through handouts containing statements and other primary source materials about ethnic tensions and nationalistic sentiments in various European countries.

Using different characters, groups will put together their sections of the Readers' Theater by working quotes and other textual resources into a brief dramatization, which they present to the class as part of a news program. Each group will be led by a reporter, who interviews politicians, soldiers, demonstrators, and others at a location in Eastern or Western Europe. The reporter talks to an anchor team at a TV station in the United States. By using these dramatic techniques, students of all ability levels can cooperate to bring history to life and gain a deeper understanding of the human story that history relates.

A cartoon analysis and a mapping activity will set the context for this lesson, and a journal activity will allow students to reflect on what they have learned and what they think is most important.

A debriefing at the end of the lesson will allow students to reflect on the resurgence of ethnic tensions—some new, some old, some rekindled—and nationalistic phenomena, which threaten to call some international borders into question or affect the very existence of some states. It will also allow them to increase their awareness of the fact that many European countries are multi-ethnic, multinational states and that solutions to many of the problems arising from ethnic tensions and nationalism must be examined in that context.

Objectives

- to become aware of the potential conflicts resulting from the congruence in many European countries between state boundaries and national, ethnic, linguistic and/or religious identities

lesson two

- to identify some of the major changes that have taken place in the political geography of Europe
- to become aware of the fact that European states are multi-ethnic and multinational
- to apply the concepts of nationality and ethnicity in a European context
- to develop a beginning understanding of the issues of national minorities

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This lesson can be used in conjunction with the themes of nationalism in the contemporary world or with unresolved problems of the modern world. This activity is also appropriate as supplementary material emphasizing current affairs, minority studies, geography, and world affairs.

Time

We recommend two class periods for this lesson.

Materials

- Handout 2A, *A Cartoonist's Perspective*, one set per pair
- Handout 2B, *Post-Cold War Europe (blank map)*, one copy per pair
- Handout 2C, *Post-Cold War Europe—Answer Key*, one copy per pair
- Handout 2D, *Europe Pre-1989*, one copy per pair
- Handout 2E, *Ethnic Map of Europe*, one copy per pair
- Handout 2F, *News Team*, four sets
- Handout 2G, *Reporter Group*, seven copies
- Handout 2H, *Group One: Former Czechoslovakia*, one set for each group member
- Handout 2I, *Group Two: Unified Germany*, one set for each group member
- Handout 2J, *Group Three: Spain*, one set for each group member
- Handout 2K, *Group Four: The European Community*, one set for each group member

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- Handout 2L, *Group Five: Hungary*, one set for each group member
- Handout 2M, *Group Six: Former Yugoslavia*, one set for each group member
- Handout 2N, *Group Seven: United Kingdom*, one set for each group member
- Handout 2O, *Journal*, one copy per student
- Felt pens; butcher paper; microphone (as a prop)

PART ONE: SETTING THE CONTEXT AND PREPARING FOR THE READERS' THEATER

Cartoon and Mapping Activities

The following cartoon and mapping activities will set the historic and thematic context for this lesson.

A political cartoon is an ideal stimulus for developing students' analytical and writing skills. Pictures, quotations, poems, and a moral dilemma also work. Most writing is based on the writer's perception of the world. A writing activity interpreting a political cartoon will help student writers focus their observations on the details, as well as on the whole, and allow them to see the interrelationships of these details. Writing is reasoning in action. The process of thinking takes place when students write. In the case of writing about political cartoons, the mental processes may include translating, interpreting, analyzing, and evaluating. The writing activity can encourage and develop these processes.

Suggested Procedures

1. Divide students into pairs and distribute a copy of Handout 2A, *A Cartoonist's Perspective*, to each pair. All of the cartoons portray one or more concepts related to the radical changes that have taken place in Europe after the end of the Cold War. Assign one or more cartoons to each group, and ask students to list as many of these concepts as they can.

The cartoons are organized into three general groups. Cartoons A and B deal with the issue of the creation of new independent states in Europe. Cartoons C and D look at the separation of Czechoslovakia (Cartoon C) and Yugoslavia (please note that Kosovo and Vojvodina were two autonomous regions within the former State of Yugoslavia). Cartoon E looks at the European Community, and Cartoon F deals with the issue of nationality.

As well as depicting the conflicts within the European Community (last box), cartoon E depicts the conflicts in Eastern Europe (first box). The little person who seems to be running away from the conflicts gets excited seeing the European Community in the distance. The little person represents the newly independent states of Eastern Europe (i.e., Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina), which all expressed the desire to become members of the European Community. The flag in the center picture of this cartoon is the flag of the European Community, representing its 12 Member States. After getting closer, the little person realizes that the European Community is a fortress. A glimpse inside the European Community reveals that its members are fighting each other, too.

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2. Have student pairs generate a series of questions (approximately 5-15) that are based on one of the political cartoons. Avoid the question: "What is the cartoon all about?" This question is a discussion killer; save it for the end. Instead, focus on the details and their interrelationships. Write the questions on the board as the students formulate them. Examples: Who is the man in the cartoon? What is he doing? Why is he doing that? Why is he shown doing what he is doing? What is the connection to the setting? Developing a series of questions serves two purposes. First, it helps students put their observations into words. Second, by asking questions that focus on the details of the cartoon, the students will begin to see the interrelationships of the parts.

3. When the student pairs have considered all of the possible questions, have them suggest answers to the questions. Let the students report their findings to the rest of the class and discuss the answers and write them alongside the questions on the chalkboard.

4. The students are now ready to begin their writing assignment.

5. Keep students in pairs and distribute one copy of Handout 2B, *Post-Cold War Europe*, to each pair. Ask them to locate as many European countries as possible and label these countries on their map. Remind students that Handout 2B reflects Europe after radical changes have taken place in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

6. Ask pairs to exchange their maps and distribute one copy of Handout 2C, *Post-Cold War Europe—Answer Key*, to each pair. Ask students to correct the maps.

7. Distribute a copy of Handout 2D, *Europe Pre-1989*, and a copy of Handout 2E, *Ethnic Map of Europe*, to each pair. Have students compare these two maps with the map that shows post-Cold War Europe (Handout 2B). What conclusions can they draw from the comparisons? You may want to ask them the following questions:

   - Where do political borders and ethnic borders cut across each other?
   - Where are more than one ethnic/national group part of the same political unit?
   - What happened in some of the areas where political and ethnic/national boundaries were different?

The Balkans or the *Balkanization of Europe* are terms frequently used when describing the rampage of violence in the former Yugoslavia, or the reemergence of ethnic and national tensions throughout Eastern Europe. What are the Balkans?

lesson two, part one

What Are the Balkans?

The Balkans is an elastic term, meaning different things in different contexts. *Balkan*, a Turkish word for mountain, was given to a chain of mountains arising in southern Yugoslavia and running south of the Danube River 850 miles eastward across Bulgaria almost to the Black Sea. Early in the 19th century, Westerners began designating the entire peninsula south of these mountains as "the Balkans." This area included not only Bulgaria and southern Yugoslavia but Greece and the European portion of Turkey.

Today, the Balkans usually refers to Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, the former Yugoslavia, and sometimes Hungary. Greece, and Turkey are often excluded, although they are south of the Danube. If Hungary, Greece and Turkey are labeled Balkan, it is likely to be for their long involvement in the affairs of that region.

Historically, Russia and Austria also have been key players in the region, and Russia continues to be. In fact, some scholars contend that Soviet territory eastward to the Dneister River should be considered part of the Balkans. This region includes Bessarabia, which has repeatedly changed hands between Romania and Russia.

The word *Balkans* has never been popular with the people of southeastern Europe to whom it has been applied—chiefly by outsiders. They resent the inference that they are of a common ethnic origin. Romanians pridefully point to a Latin heritage derived from ancient Roman settlements on the Danube and boast of being a "Latin island in a sea of Slavs." Greeks align themselves with a Mediterranean civilization that their ancestors were instrumental in defining. Hungarians, or Magyars, originally an Asian people related in language to Finns and Estonians, have long thought of their country as an eastern outpost of Western Europe. And Albanians claim to be direct descendants of Illyrians, inhabitants of the Aegean seacoast at the dawn of history.

The South (or "Yugo") Slavic people, the biggest population group in the Balkans today, probably began moving there from the present-day Ukraine in sizable numbers in the 6th century. From the various Slavic migrations have sprung related subgroups, including Serbs and Croats. Bulgars, originally a Hun people from Mongolia, came into the Balkans in the 7th century and gradually were absorbed by indigenous Slavs. Turks of the conquering Ottoman Empire constituted the last big wave of immigrants. They began infiltrating the peninsula in the 14th century, well in advance of the 400-year conquest that ended only in this century.

With few exceptions, the Balkans have not been a melting pot. High mountain ridges permeate the Balkans and tend to separate and divide ("balkanize") one people from another. True to its name, the Balkan landscape is dominated by mountains and sliced through by rivers (notably the Danube and its tributaries). Since recorded times, the rivers have been the routes of commerce—and invasion. [4]

About Readers' Theater

Readers' Theater is a dramatization technique used to bring a text, or texts, to life. A hybrid of performance and reading aloud, Readers' Theater assigns roles to students based on the characters in the text. Those who do not have a part observe from the audience. The goal of Readers' Theater is to engage students in the text through the roles, dilemmas, choices, and decisions faced by each particular character. Props and staging can enhance the dramatic effect of the reading.

Although practice will ultimately point out what works best according to your own teaching environment, there are several ideas you might want to keep in mind when using any Readers' Theater in the classroom.

- Each student needs her/his own copy of the entire script. Students hold their scripts in front of them.
- Resist rewording the original, but encourage students to build on and expand the original quotes.
- Situate the student-readers to encourage interaction between them. Confrontations, conflicts, and other dramatic parts of the text will work better if the students reading the parts address each other or interact with each other in some way. Encourage students to be creative.
- When debriefing the Readers' Theater, try to keep students in character. As long as students pretend to be the characters they played in the text, they will give answers that will reveal more about those characters.

Readers' Theater—Preparation

The following Readers' Theater will give students an opportunity to learn about some of the ethnic tensions and nationalistic sentiments in post-Cold War Europe. A number of political documents, magazine and newspaper articles, speeches, interviews, and historical accounts have been selected to create a 25-35 minute dramatization. Quotation marks have been used to indicate the primary source quotes and excerpts. The facts, the dates, and the events are accurate, and all the characters are real.

Suggested Procedures

1. Explain to students that today's activity involves creating a Readers' Theater, *Inside Europe*, which they will perform in the next class period. *Inside Europe* is an American news program that specializes in current events throughout Europe. The format is similar to that of a regional or local evening news program. Seven reporters will report life from various locations in Europe to the news team of *Inside Europe*. Each reporter will interview politicians, soldiers, demonstrators, and others. Each reporter group will sort through handouts containing some historic information on a specific country or area, quotes, and other original source documents. The news team

in the studio consists of four people: two anchors, who are responsible for the overall facilitation of *Inside Europe*; a weather reporter; and a sports reporter. Since the overall theme for today's *Inside Europe* is fairly heavy, encourage the sports and the weather reporter to bring some humor into their presentations.

2. Create one group of four students (*News Team*) and divide the remaining students into seven reporter groups consisting of 3-5 students. Reporter groups will be called *Group One, Group Two*, and so on.

3. Tell students that they will receive handouts with all the information and all the instructions. Tell them they will have 20 minutes (or the remaining time of the class) to work the quotes and the information into a brief dramatization. Each reporter group will select a facilitator within their group. The facilitator will also be the reporter.

4. Distribute a complete copy of Handout 2F, *News Team*, to each member of the News Team group.

5. Distribute one copy of Handout 2G, *Reporter Group*, to each of the remaining seven Reporter Groups.

6. Distribute copies of Handouts 2H-2N to the Reporter Groups so that each student in each group has a copy of the same handout. Some groups might have more roles than students. Students can decide to either omit some of the quotes or have group members adopt more than one role.

7. Remind students that they should be prepared to perform the Readers' Theater in the next class period.

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PART TWO: READERS' THEATER—PRESENTATION

If you have a video camera in your class room, tape the performance. Encourage your students to be creative in their roles. Record a news show and show it to them before your start with the Readers' Theater. Point out the various roles, such as anchor, reporter on the scene, weather reporter, sports reporter, expert (historian or politician in the studio or on the scene). You might want to offer a prize for the most creative team.

Suggested Procedures

Allow students a full class period for the presentation and the debriefing of the Readers' Theater.

1. Position the groups in the classroom so that the performance will have dramatic effect (for example, seat the news team at a desk in front of the class with a map of Europe behind them). Allow groups a few minutes to get their props in place, if they have decided to use any.

2. Before beginning with the newscast, make sure that the news team has received the names of the reporters, and from which locations they are reporting.

3. Tell students that they should:
   - Look up and make eye contact when speaking their part.
   - Speak slowly and clearly.
   - Speak with emotion and expression.
   - BE CREATIVE!! HAVE FUN!!

4. You might want to give reporters an example of how they could introduce themselves and their groups:

   "This is _____ reporting life from _____. I am here at _____ the site of dramatic changes in _____. With me are ....

5. Hand the microphone to the reporter of Group One, who will start the presentation after the anchors have introduced the news show and contacted the reporter of Group One.

6. Each reporter group will have about five minutes for their presentation. It is the anchors' responsibility to proceed with the next group in numerical order.

Debriefing is an important part of this activity, allowing students to reflect upon the thoughts and feelings generated by the experience.

Readers' Theater—Debriefing

Airing some general feelings:

Ask students how they felt while preparing for the presentation and while they were actually doing the presentation.

- Did you experience any problems within your group?
- How did you feel about playing a certain role?
- What made the greatest impact on you?
- What did you learn about some of the problems in post-Cold War Europe?

Some general questions

- What are some of the similarities found in the various reports?
- What differences did you discover?
- Why have ethnic tensions and nationalistic sentiments resurfaced and increased after the end of the Cold War? Why have these tensions been suppressed for so long? *(For more than four decades, communism dominated Eastern Europe, and nationalism was not tolerated by the communist regimes. Like religion, it offered a set of alternative allegiances to the official ideology of the government. With political life now being open, national minorities can express their identity and organize themselves.)*
- Should nationality groups in Europe have the right to independence and be able to form new countries?

Questions to specific characters

Ask students, still in character, as well as reporters and anchors, some specific questions, and encourage other students to offer their reactions. The following are some suggested questions:

To reporters, anchors and historians:

- Did you take sides while telling the news? Was there any bias?
- Did you historians give a fair representation of the various historical perspectives?
- What did you learn from telling the history of a country or a region in Europe?

To Group One (Former Czechoslovakia):

- *Vladimir Meciar, prime minister of Slovakia:* Why did you push for separation from the Czech Republic? Do you think your country is better off now? In what ways?
- *Maria Hrncirikova, a Slovak cashier who works in the Czech Republic:* Why do you think the politicians didn't ask the people what they wanted?
- *Vaclav Srajer, a Czech coal worker:* Why do you think many Czechs feel more optimistic about the separation?

To Group Two (Unified Germany):

- *Walter Schönhuber:* You are the leader of the *Republikaner*, a right-wing political party in Germany. Why do you think your party has been able to win 7.5 percent of the popular vote in Germany's recent elections?
- *Ignatz Bubis, head of Germany's principal Jewish organization:* With Germany's history, why are you optimistic that what happened 40 years ago will not happen again?
- *Richard von Weizsäcker:* As president of the Federal Republic of Germany, what could your government have done to prevent the attacks on foreigners?

To Group Three (Spain):

- *Jordi Pujol:* Why is it so important to you as president of Catalonia to achieve more autonomy from the Spanish government? What are the advantages of being more autonomous?
- *Antonio Gala, a Spanish writer:* How can diversity be both a problem and a glory for Spain?

To Group Four (European Community):

- *Frans Andriesen, vice president of the Commission of the European Community:* Why, in your opinion, does the concept of national sovereignty no longer provide the answers to the problems of the world we live in? Why should a sovereign country transfer some of its sovereign rights or powers to a supra-national community?
- *Holger Schieening and Kim Jensen, citizens of Denmark:* What are the advantages and disadvantages of being a member of the European Community?

To Group Five (Hungary):

- *Rev. Zsigmond Csukas and Tereza Mazi, citizens of Slovakia:* What pieces of your identity have been most influential in your daily lives? Why?
- *Georgi Funar, mayor of Cluj, Romania:* Why do you believe that citizens of your country, who say that they are Hungarian cannot be loyal to your country?
- *Mikhal Kovac, Slovakia's first president:* Why do you feel so strongly that all members of minority nationalities in your country need to master the state language, i.e. the official language of the Slovak state?

To Group Six (Yugoslavia):

- *Sabina Imeri-Chua, a Croat, and Kemal Kurspahic, a Muslim:* You described how people from different nationalities have been able to live together in peace. How is that possible?

lesson two, part two

- *Tomislav Justic, general manager of JAT:* You said that you are a Yugoslavian first and a Serb second. What exactly do you mean by that?
- How have the historical memories of the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims contributed to the current conflict?

To Group Seven (United Kingdom):

- *Dick Spring, deputy prime minister of Ireland:* You said that you need to find institutions that permit the expression of the conflicting and diverse aspirations between the Catholics and the Protestants. What specific institutions can you think of?
- *Rian Malan, distinguished South African journalist:* Why do you think peace in Northern Ireland is so difficult to achieve?

To bring this lesson to a close, assign a journal writing activity by distributing a copy of Handout 20, *Journal*, to each student.

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A CARTOONIST'S PERSPECTIVE (1 of 3)

Cartoon A

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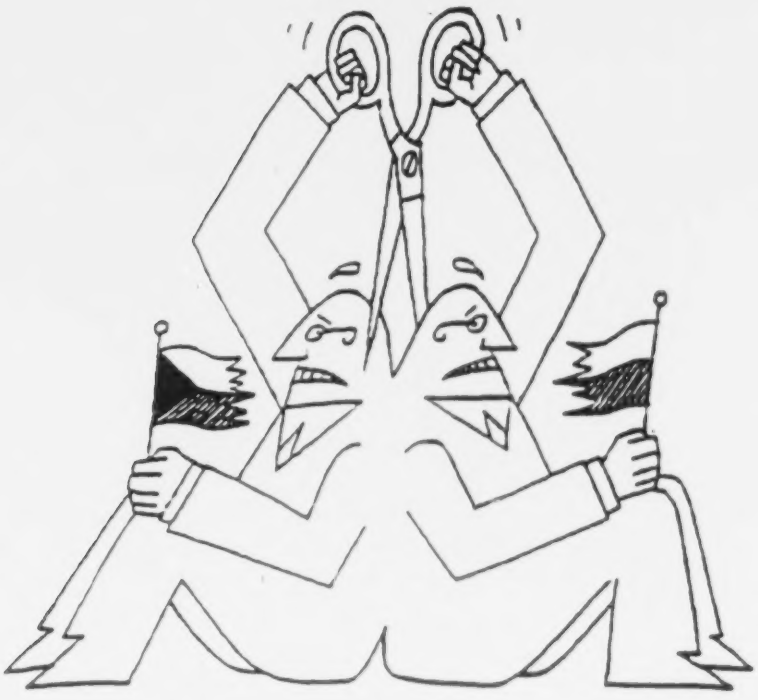
Cartoon B

NO, NO, THIS IS INDEPENDENT SERBISTAN. REPUBLIC OF UZBECKIA IS TWO BLOCKS THAT WAY. GO UP ALLEY TO COMMONWEALTH OF BELGRAVIA, TURN LEFT AT UNITED LATVANIA. IF YOU GET TO UPPER BUGOSI, YOU'VE GONE TOO FAR.
MAP OF EUROPE
ed STEIN

© 1991 Ed Stein, *Rocky Mountain News*. Reprinted by permission.

A Cartoonist's Perspective (2 of 3)

Cartoon C



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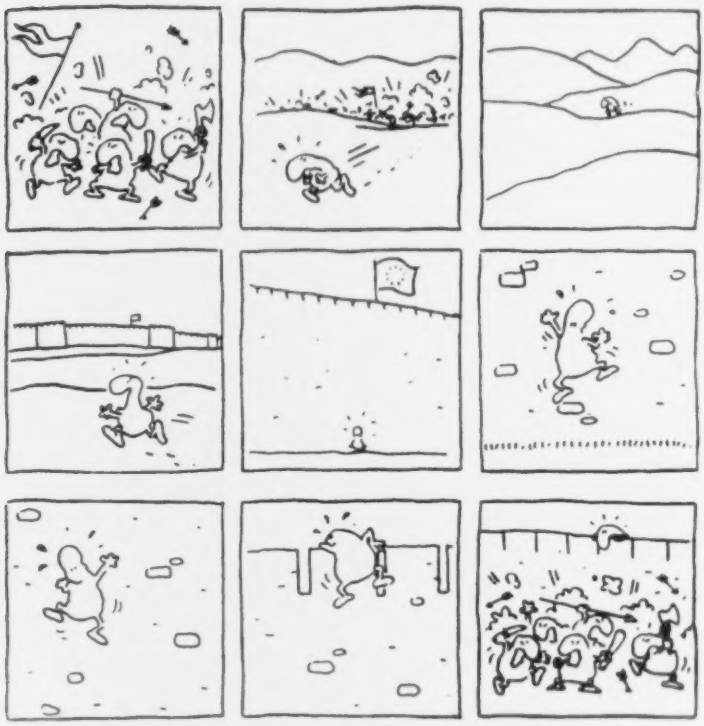
Cartoon D

© 1991 DeAngelis, *Il Popolo*. Reprinted by permission

A CARTOONIST'S PERSPECTIVE (3 of 3)

Cartoon E



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Cartoon F

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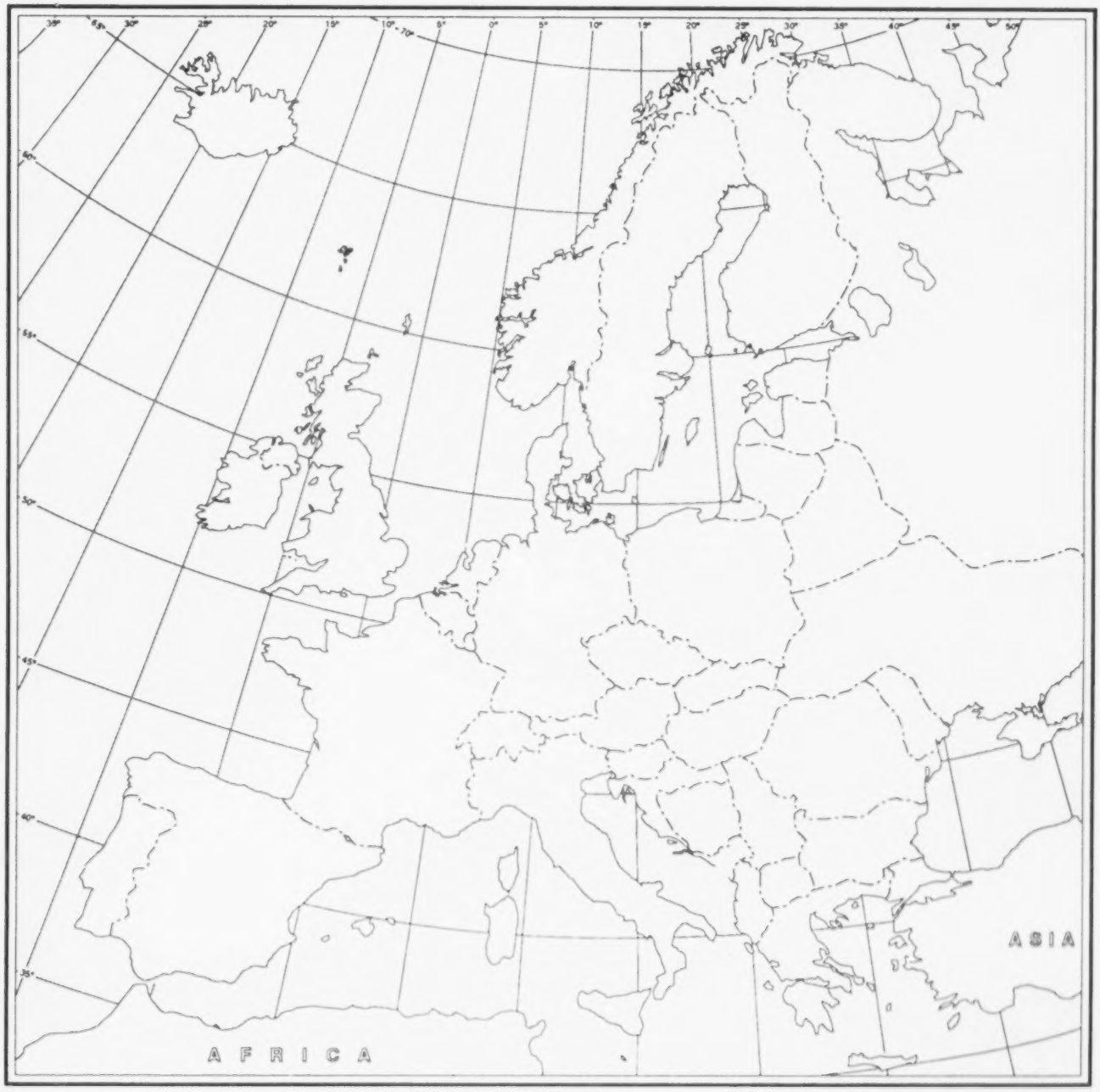
POST-COLD WAR EUROPE

On the map below, indicate as many of the following countries as possible:
Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Byelarus, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Moldova, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, Yugoslavia.



POST-COLD WAR EUROPE—ANSWER KEY

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EUROPE PRE-1989

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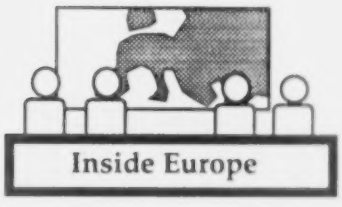
ETHNIC MAP OF EUROPE

NEWS TEAM (1 of 6)



As the News Team of *Inside Europe*, a 30-minute news show covering events in Europe, you will be receiving live reports from reporters stationed in various European cities. It is your responsibility to present these life reports to your viewers. Read the following instructions carefully.

1. Assign the following roles:

Two Anchors:

You will be responsible for the overall facilitation of the newscast. In particular, it will be your responsibility:

- to open the newscast by introducing the main theme and the members of your news team.
- to introduce the reporters and some of the main events they will be reporting. The reporters will provide you with their names and tell you from what city they are.
- to comment on the reporters' presentations and follow up with questions.
- to make the connection between individual reports and the overall theme of the newscast. Each reporter will have about five minutes for his or her report.

One Sports Reporter:

You will present the sports report.

One Weather Reporter:

You will present the weather report.

2. Work as a team, as much as possible, before you start preparing for your individual roles. Add whatever you think is necessary to make this news program interesting, creative, dramatic, and informative.

3. Follow the traffic light. You have 20 minutes to prepare for the newscast.

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Start here! Step One. Read the following overview and summarize it in your own words. Think about a theme and questions you would like to ask the reporters. When you are done with this part, move on to the weather.

In the fall of 1989, a series of stunning changes swept through Eastern and Central Europe: the Berlin Wall collapsed, and the East German, Czechoslovak, and Romanian governments were toppled. Restless energy, enthusiasm, and a guarded sense of optimism followed the end of the Cold War. throughout 1992, hope reigned that Europe—and the world—might be embarking upon a long-awaited period of peace and stability. 1992 was to be the "Year of Europe;" Euro-enthusiasts had high expectations. An ambitious plan was formulated and ready for ratification by 12 Western European countries; the Maastricht Treaty, calling for closer European integration through the creation of a single currency, a European Central Bank, and a common foreign and security policy, was said to be a giant step toward making the European Community into a "United States of Europe."

1992 was the "Year of Europe," not because of peace, stability, and further integration, but because of political fragmentation, ethnic conflicts, racist violence, economic recession, and monetary confusion. The forces of disintegration gained an upper hand throughout Eastern Europe. The former Soviet Union crumbled, and Czechs and Slovaks parted ways peacefully, though not without considerable pain. Most important, however, was the ongoing war in the former Yugoslavia—Europe's first post-Cold War conflict.

In much of Eastern Europe, borders between states cut across ethnic groups. There are Hungarians in Romania and Slovakia, Romanians in Moldova (former USSR), Hungarians in the Serbian province of Vojvodina (Yugoslavia), and Germans in the Czech Republic, to mention a few. The state of Yugoslavia had been an attempt to unite several different nationalities into a single state. Under Tito's communist rule, differences between and within the six republics of Yugoslavia, which more or less represented the various nationalities of Yugoslavia, were kept relatively quiet. Since 1990, however, all but Montenegro and Serbia, which sought to maintain a united Yugoslavia, have declared their independence. The ensuring war, which began in 1991, pitted Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians against each other in battles for territory, control, and independence.

The collapse of communism also affected Western Europe. The nationalism emerging in the East cast its shadow on Western Europe and the European Community. After 35 years of continuing integration, many Western Europeans regarded the goal of further integration with suspicion. Western Europeans were concerned about their national identities and hesitated to transfer further sovereign rights from their national governments to the supranational European Community. This suspicion expressed itself in the initial rejection of the Maastricht Treaty by Denmark and the slim margin of its approval in the French referendum in 1992.

Nationalist movements have also caused the deaths of thousands of Western Europeans as ethnic groups struggle against the states that govern them. For example the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland favors continued union with Britain, while the Catholic minority wants to join with the rest of Ireland. Nationalists saying they represent three million Basques seek an independent state on the border of Spain and France. And separatist yearnings in Catalonia, one of the largest of the 17 Spanish regions, with its own language (Catalan) and culture, have been brought to the force through the Olympics in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia.

handout 2f

Western Europe has also seen a surge in attacks on foreigners and ethnic minorities. An influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Eastern Europe and other areas has stirred anger among right-wing groups, particularly in Britain, France, Germany and Spain. In Germany alone, right-wing and neo-Nazi groups carried out more than 2,000 attacks in 1992 against foreigners seeking political asylum in Germany.

Reporters will report live from the following locations in Europe:

Group One:
Czech Republic and Slovakia. Theme: Breakup of former Czechoslovakia

Group Two:
Germany. Theme: Anti-foreigner sentiments

Group Three:
Spain. Theme: Separatism; immigrants

Group Four:
European Community. Theme: Further European integration

Group Five:
Hungary. Theme: Hungarian minorities outside of Hungary

Group Six:
Yugoslavia. Theme: Ethnic conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia

Group Seven:
United Kingdom. Theme: Northern Ireland; Welsh and Scottish nationalism

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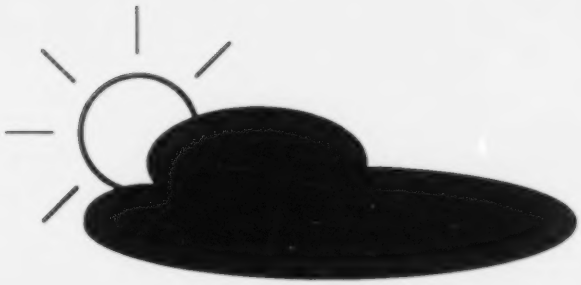

Step Two:

As a group, use the following information for a discussion on a weather report of Europe. It is the weather reporter's responsibility to present a brief weather report of Europe to the rest of the class. Think about the main theme of this newscast. Add some humor to the weather report.

Latitude	Longitude	Capital	Country	Annual Precipitation (in./mm)	Temperature (°F/°C)	Altitude (ft./m)
41.2N	19.5E	Tirana	Albania	47/1189	60/16	294/89
48.2N	16.2E	Vienna	Austria	26.4/660	50/10	700/212
38.5N	9.1W	Lisbon	Portugal	28.3/708	62/17	363/110
60.2N	24.6E	Helsinki	Finland	25.6/641	39/4	191/58
52.3N	13.2E	Berlin	Germany	22.2/556	50/10	165/50
42.5N	23.2E	Sofia	Bulgaria	24.8/622	50/10	1949/588
55.5N	37.3E	Moscow	Russia	23/575	39/4	514/156
44.3N	26.1E	Bucharest	Romania	23.1/578	51/11	270/82
46.6N	7.3E	Bern	Switzerland	41.1/1028	46/8	1874/568
50.5N	4.2E	Brussels	Belgium	31.4/785	50/10	343/104
47.3N	19.0E	Budapest	Hungary	25.2/630	51/11	429/130
41.5N	12.1E	Rome	Italy	29.9/749	60/16	412/125
51.3N	0.1W	London	United Kingdom	23.7/594	50/10	16/5
59.6N	10.4E	Oslo	Norway	29.6/740	42/6	316/96
40.2N	3.4E	Madrid	Spain	17.44/436	57/14	2168/657
55.4N	12.4E	Copenhagen	Denmark	24.08/602	46/8	16/5
64.1N	21.6W	Reykjavik	Iceland	32.2/805	41/5	52/16
48.6N	2.3E	Paris	France	23.4/585	51/11	174/53
52.1N	20.6E	Warsaw	Poland	18.8/471	46/8	353/107
44.5N	20.3E	Belgrade	Yugoslavia	28/701	53/12	435/132
59.2N	17.6E	Stockholm	Sweden	22.2/555	44/7	36/11
49.4N	6.0E	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	29.6/740	48/9	1089/330

Step Three:

As a group, use the following two articles for discussion on a sports report. It is the sports reporter's responsibility to present a brief sports report on Europe to the rest of the class. Think about the main theme of this newscast.

Use the remaining time to prepare your individual roles. The two anchors sort through the information given to them by the reporters (names of reporters and places from where they report) and get ready for the newscast. The sports reporter and the weather reporter copy an outline of Europe onto butcher paper and place it on the wall behind the news desk.

An Icon That Is France: To the Nation, the Tour de France Is More Than Just the World's Most Difficult Bicycle Race

Theme: A New, Borderless Tour de France

"Love for 'Le Tour' is a sentiment the French renew every year. The venerable race, begun in 1903 and now in its 79th year, sends dozens of well-honed cyclists over thousands of miles of European countryside from gentle river valleys and fields of wheat and corn, to mountains that even some cars prefer not to climb.

It is not just a race that reveals the best practitioners of what many consider the world's most demanding and punishing sport, but an event that also unmasks the character of a people. The French may be known for a haughty sophistication and high regard for much in the world, but their enthusiasm for this race and the numbers in which they turn out for it reveal the enduring nature of what is called *la France profonde*, or "deep France."

. . . This year's tour route, 2,490 miles (3,983 kilometers) to be covered in 21 riding days or "stages" ending in Paris, miffed more than one French native by taking in the largest number ever of European countries—six, in addition to France. Tour officials say the decision to include Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Germany, and Italy translates their desire to commemorate 1992, the year the European Community is to complete its single market leading to a "Europe without borders."

But the decision didn't please everyone. "To celebrate Europe, the Tour de France was transformed into the Tour of Europe, and that's too bad," says Raymond Poulidor, a Frenchman, longtime tour participant, and now cycling commentator."

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(6 of 6)

As East Meets West, Germany Adjusts Compass

Theme: The effects of the changing political geography in Europe on sports teams.

"Three guys in bulging spandex suits heave a gleaming cigar of a bobsled onto a trailer, after a fourth lays strips of old carpet to shield the runners. No coaches are in sight, and no help comes from a tractor driver, who leans on elbow, counting the clouds going by.

Harald Czudaj's four-man team has just run 47.97 seconds, a record for the course at Königsee, the premier West German bobsled run, far from his course in Altenberg in old East Germany. He's running hard to squeeze out local aces like Rudi Lochner and Christoph Langen, the big hopes of the West German bobsledding clubs. . . . Athletes like Czudaj used to be the coddled darlings of the East German nation, and now they have to dirty their hands, hauling their sleds alone.

The newspaper won't talk about West Germans or East Germans, but the battle has nonetheless been intense for slots on the first all-German Olympic team since 1964, to compete at Albertville, France. On the last occasion competing as separate teams, at Calgary in 1988, East Germany's 54 athletes brought home 25 medals. . . . Now, with the Soviet Union crumbled and the Germanys united, the German team is looking like the abominable snowman.

. . . Athletes from both the east and the west will double-team in other events. In ski jumping, the melded team will boast the East German Jens Weißflog, the gold-medal winner in 1984 in Sarajevo, plus the West German Dieter Thoma, last year's European champion.

. . . What generates the most friction is a lingering attitude gap between easterners who lost their entourage of coaches, trainers, masseurs, and technicians, and westerners who resent never having one.

Raymond Bethge, head coach of the national bobsled team, said westerners generally accepted him because in the days of division, he ignored East German rules and fraternized with western athletes, wisecracking and exchanging tips. But he added: "We were the coddled children of the nation. The leap out of that world was like a jump into ice-cold water."

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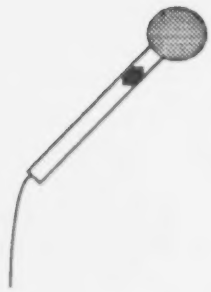
REPORTER GROUP



As a Reporter Group, you will be reporting live to the anchors of *Inside Europe*, a 30-minute news show in the United States covering events in Europe. It is your task to prepare a script by using the statements and background information found in your handout. Try not to reword the original quotes, but add whatever you think will make your part more dramatic, more creative, or more understandable. Use props (for example, a microphone, banners, etc.) and staging that will enhance the dramatic effect of the interview scene.

Assign the following roles:

One Reporter:
You will interview each member of your group and report live to the two anchors back in the studio in the U.S. In particular, it is your responsibility to introduce the interviewees, set the context, describe the scene, and facilitate the interview.

Historian:

As the expert, you will set the historic context. Use the information in your handout, as well as other resources available to you (history textbook, maps, etc.).

Miscellaneous Roles:

Politicians, Soldiers, Writers, Blue-Collar/White-Collar Workers, Immigrants, Political Asylum Seekers, etc.

Be creative!

It will be your turn when one of the anchors contacts you. You have about 15 minutes to prepare your interview by reordering some or all of the quotes, adding to the quotes or including more background information. Your presentation should take no more than five minutes.

✂

Tear off and pass this information on to the anchors before the newscast starts.

GROUP: _____ REPORTER'S NAME: _____ REPORTING FROM: _____

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GROUP ONE: FORMER CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1 of 3)

As 74-year old Czechoslovakia goes out of existence, becoming the Czech Republic and Slovakia, ordinary citizens are considering their choice of citizenship. Many, perhaps most, would rather not. This breakup, unlike those of Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, did not stem from heartfelt popular sentiments. Instead, the end of the 74-year-old union of Czechs and Slovaks was engineered by politicians. And so the people of Czechoslovakia, who only three years ago shouted the Communists out of power, now find themselves forced by their democratically elected government to accept dissolution of their country.

As another part of the separation process, officials are working overtime to count and divide the country's property, from the army's 1,435 tanks to the last rival bullet, and from the governments B.M.W. limousines to paintings in government offices. According to a formula agreed to by both sides, one-third of all movable property goes to Slovakia and two-thirds goes to the Czech Republic. This is in accordance with the ratio of the two sides' populations: 10.4 million Czechs and 5.3 million Slovaks.

Czechoslovakia was created as a state during the aftermath of World War I. Until then, the region had been under the control of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia, which had been under the rule of the Austrian half of the empire, were among the most industrially developed in Europe. Slovakia had been under a more oppressive Hungarian regime and was still largely a peasant society. Czechoslovakia was neither homogeneous nor unified.

While the communist system that presided over Czechs and Slovaks after World War II kept their differences to a minimum, their harmony was not to be sustained in its absence. After the election of Vaclav Havel (a Czech) to the Presidency, Slovaks increased their demands for recognition as a separate political entity. The idea of an independent Slovakia appealed to many Slovaks as a recognition of their own cultural and social traditions. In addition, Slovakia is more agricultural and less developed than the Czech lands, and the Czechs could probably make faster progress toward a free-market economy than Slovakia.

"I am neither a good Slovak nor a bad Slovak. I am an army officer. My wife and children are Czech. It makes no sense for me to return to Slovakia." *Lieutenant Colonel Peter Fuzak, an officer of the armed forces of Czechoslovakia, who had been stationed in the Czech lands for 18 years and had to choose between serving in the future Czech or Slovak army.*[7]

"You see this furniture? Of course there's no point shipping this to Slovakia. But it all has to be counted." *Miroslav Purkyne, Deputy Finance Minister of the Czech Republic, clutching his massive wooden desk and pointing to wooden cabinets behind him.*[8]

handout 2h

"Two states have been established. Living together in one state is over. Living together in two states continues. Slovakia is yours, and will be successful." *Vladimir Meciar, prime minister of Slovakia.*[9]

I can't imagine what it will be like after the New Year. I am terribly sorry [Czechoslovakia] is splitting. The people weren't asked what they wanted—there was no referendum. Of all the people around here, no one wants a separation." *Maria Hrncirikova, a 34-year-old Slovak cashier, who will become a foreign employee when she reports to work after the splitting of Czechoslovakia. Mrs. Hrncirikova, who lives on the Slovak side of what has become an international border, worries about being fired some day soon.*[10]

"They made us their colony. And they still think they're cleverer than us." *Dusan Slobodnik, Slovakia's minister of culture, expressing the feeling of many in his country when he spoke of the Czech's condescension.*[11]

"Back in 1989, people did not respond to the content, but rather to the mood, of the revolution. It was not a rational process, but the product of emotion, and it is the same with this independence movement." *Peter Tatar, a former leader of the Public Against Violence party, and a founding member of the new Party of Democratic Conservatives of Slovakia.*[12]

"I am an optimist! We are not dependent on the Slovaks. We can trade with the rest of the world. They never helped us. We were always supporting them." *Vaclav Srajer, a 48-year-old coal stoker in Kralupy, Czech Republic.*[13]

"The fact in itself that two states shall emerge out of one is not a tragedy. I do not feel any sentimental ties to the Czechoslovak state. I do not place the highest value on the state, but rather on man and humanity. . . . Czechoslovakia is not so serious as the cases of other countries, such as those in the Balkans. We have no tradition of hostility and national conflict. The Czechs and Slovaks have always lived in friendship; they have never fought against each other." *Vaclav Havel, former president of Czechoslovakia.* [14]

"In the entire post-communist world there exists an imminent danger of nationalistic and ethnic conflict. In some cases nations were not able to search freely for and find their own identity and form of statehood and gain their independence for tens or even hundreds of years. We cannot be surprised that now, when the straitjacket of communism has been torn off, all the countries wish to establish their independence and self-determination." *Vaclav Havel, former president of Czechoslovakia.* [15]

(3 of 3)

On the main square of Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, Slovak nationalists have constructed symbolic displays anticipating the dissolving of the Czechoslovak Federation, including a doll representing the birth of a new Slovakia.

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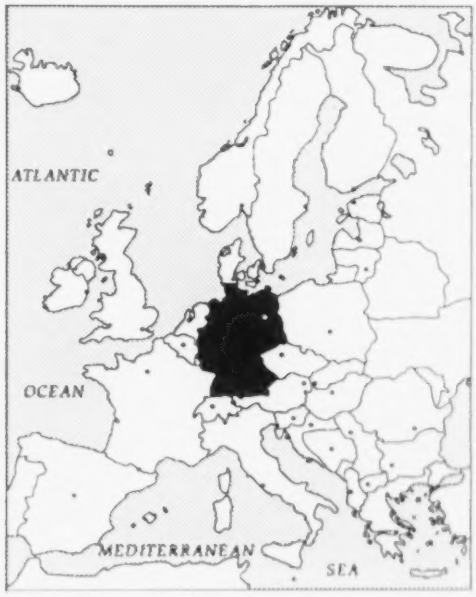
GROUP TWO: UNIFIED GERMANY (1 of 3)



For 40 years, Germany was divided between the two competing systems that gave the world the Cold War: socialism and capitalism. The country's division was far more than a simple line drawn down the middle of the country, and it would take some drastic changes to reverse the rift the former allies had opened.

When the two Germanys were united in October 1990 and the way ahead looked clear and rosy, Chancellor Helmut Kohl told his people that no one would feel pain. Two years later, the industrial powerhouse in the west was sinking fast into recession. Instead of blooming, the former socialist economy in the east collapsed under the pressure of competition, dragging the rest of the country with it and stirring widespread anger and frustration. Hostility between German haves and have-nots is rising by the day. That frustration has also led to more than 2000 attacks against foreigners, mostly asylum seekers, by right-wing radicals and neo-Nazi skinheads.

Strong showings in regional elections by right-wing parties like the Republicans and a wave of far right-wing attacks against foreigners that killed 17 people in 1992 raised fears that Germans were sliding back into old evil ways.

"Once before, a disoriented generation of young Germans took up the cries of 'German Awake!' and 'Death to Jews!" Now, we are hearing echoes of that time. A new disoriented generation must not be allowed to endanger the German democracy that we have worked so hard to build. Nationality is important. I don't consider myself a Turkish councilor, but a human being who wants to work in politics and happens to live in Berlin. If I had gone to America, I would have done the same thing. I accept this society. Whether it accepts me is another matter." *Ismail Hakki Kosan, a Berlin City Council member, is the only foreign-born politician in Germany. He moved to Germany from Turkey in 1969 and was admitted to an engineering school in Berlin. Like many foreigners in Germany, Mr. Kosan had continual problems with his residence visa. But because he had become an active member of the Green party, he was connected to politicians who were finally able to obtain German citizenship for him. Mr. Kosan is married to a German.*[18]

"Well, I think there is at this moment a sort of malaise in Germany, sort of not finding an own national identity. One has the feeling there are scapegoats, and there are people are responsible for this, and it's always very helpful to say the others, others who are responsible for this and not we ourselves." *Prof. Wolf LePenies, Social Science College, Berlin.*[19]

"We cannot help the whole world. And a very important fact is that thousands and hundreds of thousand of asylum seekers are streaming and pouring in our country." *Walter Schönhuber, leader of the most powerful and organized right-wing group, the* Republikaner party.[20]

"We looked for a flat for over two years; they [asylum seekers] come into asylum camps, and get flats and get more social security. I go to the social security department every month, I get DM 452.60. We don't have work. They [asylum seekers] don't have work either. But they live better than us. Of course it is unfair. It's definitely unfair. It's not right." *German youth, Leipzig.*[21]

"There has definitely been a change. More still needs to be done, but I think these demonstrations [against neo-Nazis] have been great. They show that most Germans reject all forms of violence." *Ignatz Bubis, head of Germany's principal Jewish organization.*[22]

"Perhaps it is that we lack the very people we are afraid of, because they are foreign to us and look foreign—those whom, out of fear, we meet with hatred. And perhaps those we most lack are the ones we think of as the lowest of the low, the Gypsies. They are different. Their mere existence puts our values into question. Let half a million and more Gypsies live among us. We need them. They could help us by irritating our rigid order a little. Something of their way of life could rub off on us. They could teach us how meaningless frontiers are: Careless of boundaries, Gypsies are at home all over Europe. They are what we claim to be: born Europeans." *Günter Grass, German novelist, after Germany's agreement with the Romanian government that provided for repatriation of Gypsies.*[23]

"The violence against outsiders during 1992 was making me feel unsafe, even though I have been living in Germany for 24 years, since I was 10 years old. Now [after the demonstrations against neo-Nazis and other right-wing groups], I have a good feeling, a calm feeling. These demonstrations show that most Germans feel no hostility toward foreigners." *Özgar Sikkak, a Turkish-born truck driver who joined the Berlin vigil.*[24]

"There are at least hundreds of times more people who are against violence against foreigners than there are young people who commit it. Whether these young people will learn much from this or change their behavior is another question. There is no reason to compare Germany today with Germany in 1932 or 1933." *Helmut Schmidt, former German chancellor and now editor of the weekly journal* Die Zeit.[25]

"[Being deported from United Germany] is the greatest fear of our people. We have lived through great changes here, and we don't fit in Vietnam any more. The poverty and unemployment there is terrible. We have made a place for ourselves here, we are happy here, and we want to stay." *Van Son Vu, organizer of an advocacy group for Vietnamese in Berlin. Van Son Vu came to former East Germany as a laborer under a contract between the East German and the Vietnamese governments. The Vietnamese fear that they will be deported from United Germany.*[26]

"Who hasn't had bad experiences with foreigners? They say stupid things, and sometimes you get into fights with them. Of course foreigners are not just angels. But why should we always talk about the foreigners? . . . We should get used to judging them by their behavior, not their nationality." *German youth.*[27]

"We have a duty to treat immigrants humanely. Now that the Cold War is over, Europe is threatened with a new split between rich and poor countries. As the borders are opened, people attempt to emigrate from the regions where poverty prevails. This has been so through history. Because we have no adequate laws for dealing with the massive influx of refugees thus far, apart from the instrument of asylum, they all squeeze themselves through this bottleneck, which was not designed for this purpose. But surely this does not give us the right to accuse these foreigners of being bogus asylum seekers, as often happens." *Richard von* Weizsäcker, *president of the Federal Republic of Germany.*[28]

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As Germans contend with a raise in violence against foreigners, antiracist demonstrations are being held in many German cities. In Berlin, on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's becoming Chancellor, more than 100,000 people spelled "never again" in candles.

(3 of 3)

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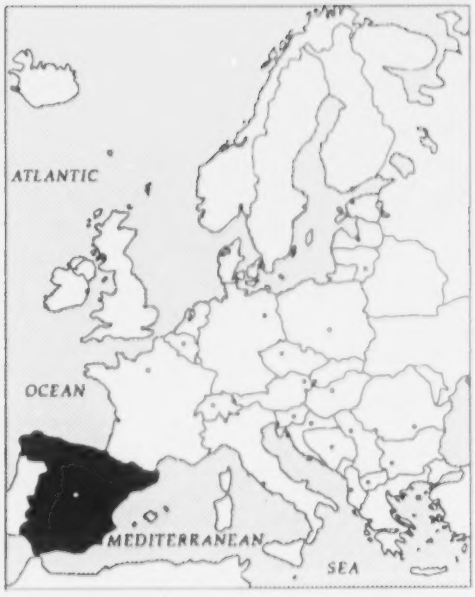
GROUP THREE: SPAIN (1 of 4)



Spain was never a fully integrated country. Tension between the Spanish government and several regions within the Spanish state has always been a constant factor in Spanish politics. Three of Spain's most visible regions include the Basque region in the north, Catalonia in the north-east, and Andalusia in the south.

There are about two million Basques in Spain and about 200,000 Basques in France. An ancient people of obscure origins who speak a language unrelated to any other in Europe, the Basques have always been sharply aware of their separate identity. This identity was greatly enhanced by the suppression of the Basque language and culture during the dictatorship of General Franco, who treated Spain as a single centralized state. People were forced to adopt Spanish names, and local administration and police work were placed in the hands of non-Basques, who had no comprehension or sympathy with the local language or culture. In the late 1970s, the demands for greater autonomy increased with Spain's return to democracy.

Over 800 people have been killed by Basque nationalists, who began to resort to violence in the late 1960s to accomplish its aim of an independent Basque country.

The Catalans are Spain's richest and most illustrious minority. Similar to the Basques, their literature and language, spoken by about four million people, were suppressed under General Franco; one could be put in jail for singing the Catalan national anthem. Both the Basque country and Catalonia were given autonomy in the late 1970s.

The awareness of ethnic identity in Spain's most southern region, Andalusia, has also increased over the past years. As Andalusians looked around, they began to take pride in how their architecture, music, accents, food, and above all, their history, was different from those of other Spaniards. The region's defining characteristic is its Arab legacy.

Similar to other Western European countries, Spain is experiencing tensions between people and North Africans who are attracted by new economic growth in Spain. These tensions have already brought occasional outbursts of violence.

"The important thing is not sport but the country. Sport helps the country to form itself, to organize itself, to know how to win and how to lose. I never talk of self-determination. I talk of nation and state, of autonomy and independence, which are clearer concepts. We don't ask for independence but greater autonomy." *Jordi Pujol, president of Catalonia, who, by 'country', meant Catalonia.*[30]

handout 2j

"The world image Barcelona wants for the Olympics is not as a Spanish city but as the capital of Catalonia, its own nation within the Spanish state." *Miquel de Moragas, head of an Olympic studies center at Barcelona's Autonomous University.*[31]

"Independence is a very weak current in Catalonia. It is not seen as a pragmatic idea among a pragmatic people, but there can be no questions of the sense of collective identity. It is an identity not based on race or religion but on language and culture in the broadest sense—a way of life. The final test is that we think of ourselves as a nation." *Joan Culla, historian, University of Barcelona.*[32]

"Language and nationalism in Catalonia is chicken and egg!" *Strubell, director of the Generalitat's language office.*[33]

"We are not Spaniards but a nation administered by Spain. Madrid is pleasant, but among foreign capitals I prefer Paris. We have a very strong sense of self. I am a Catalan first, and, in the context of Spain, a Spaniard second." *Angel Colon, a 40-year-old schoolteacher.*[34]

"In historical terms, Eastern Europe is a temporary problem that should have a solution. But in North Africa, there is a structural problem. We don't know how its political and economic situation will develop. And the demographic pressure is enormous." *Santiago Varela, Spain's deputy interior minister, talking about North African immigrants using the Strait of Gibraltar as an escape route from poverty and instability.*[35]

"We have no work, we are very poor in our country. I will do anything, any job. I just don't want to go home." *20-year-old Algerian, who is among 80 immigrants being held in a "reception center" in southern Spain.*[36]

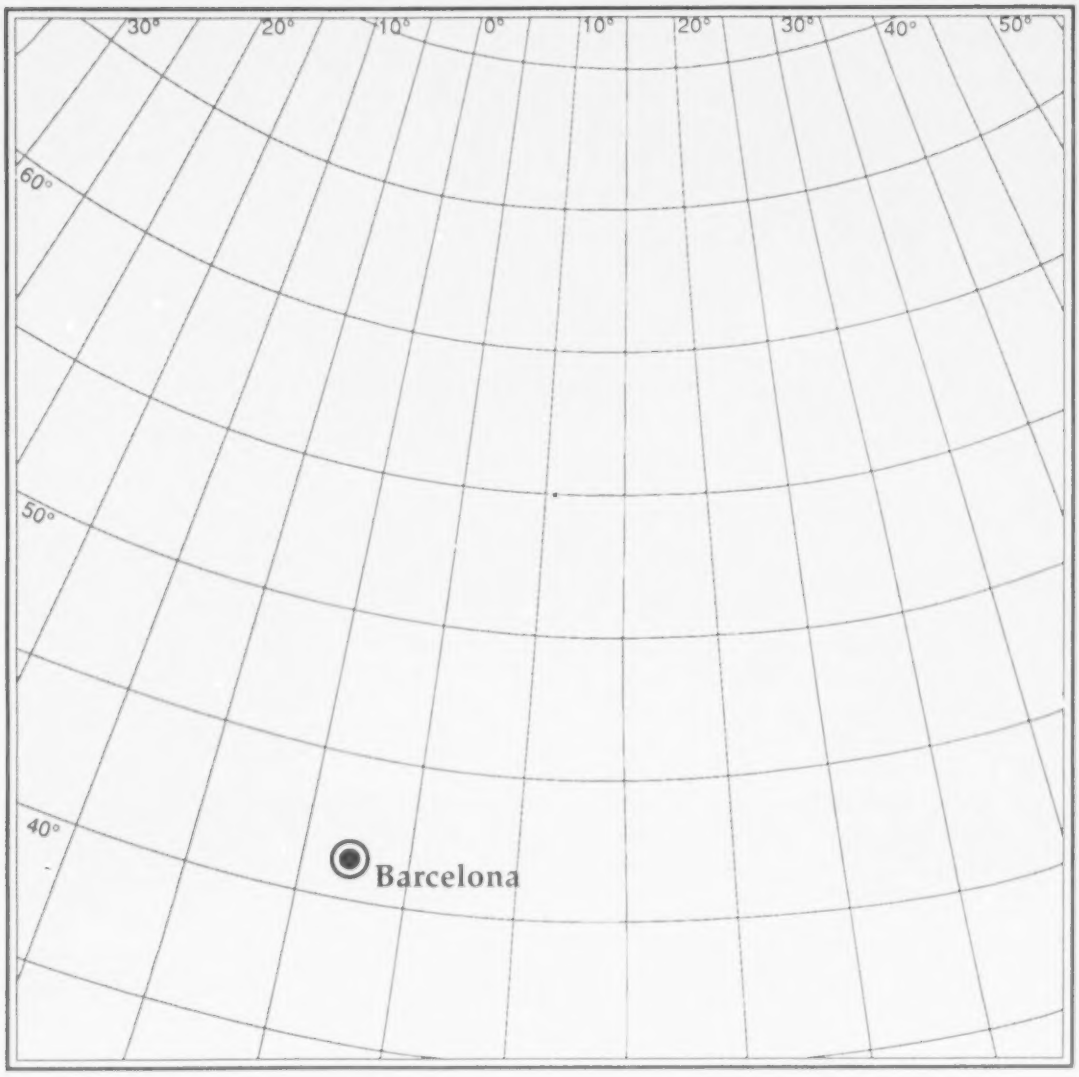
"If wealth doesn't go to poverty, poverty will move toward wealth. If bread doesn't go to mouths, the mouths will go in search of bread." *Father Sánchez, El Ejido, southern Spain.*[37]

"We don't question the Spanish state. But it must recognize Spain's multinational character. The state should not disappear but, yes, it should have less power." *Jordi Pujol, president of Catalonia.* [38]

"Spain is not a country, but a country of countries. Diversity is sometimes a problem for us, but it is also our glory." *Antonio Gala, a Spanish writer.* [39]

"People boast of speaking Basque when they know only three words. You see, the loss of the language is almost an obsession here. People equate it with their national identity, and they are very fearful of losing that. . . . The only way to find an answer would be to hold a referendum, but the [Spanish] government does not dare. All that can be said for certain is that the feeling we are a separate nation is very strong. Most people here, whatever their political views, harbor a deep resentment toward the Spanish state." *Luis Nuñez, a sociologist by training and now a journalist on the Basque nationalist newspaper* Egin. [40]

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES (3 of 4)



Adapted from the New York Times[41]

IN WHICH COUNTRY WOULD YOU PLACE THIS POINT?

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES (4 of 4)

IN CATALONIA, OF COURSE.

This is where Barcelona is, in Catalonia, a country in Spain with its own culture, language, and identity.

A country with a population of only six million people, which has experienced a growth which has made it one of the motors of Europe.

A country in which many foreign enterprises—European, North American, Japanese—have invested and are still heavily investing.

A country which has understood and motivated the genius of Picasso, the force of Miró, the imagination of Dalí, the innovative approach of Tapies, the art of Monserrat Caballé. . . .

A country which is visited every year by 16 million people from all over the world for its climate and its unique tourist, sports, and cultural facilities.

A country with the know-how to get the Olympic Games for its capital Barcelona. Now you know where Barcelona is.

In Catalonia, of course.

GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA
AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA

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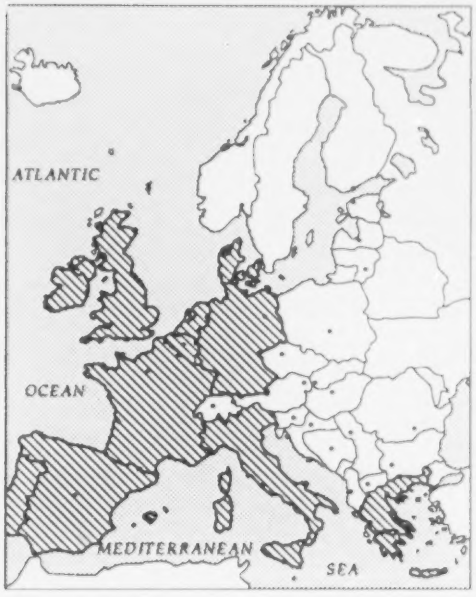
GROUP FOUR: THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC) (1 of 3)



The European Community (EC) is made up of 12 sovereign states, each with its own government. It has 320 million people speaking nine different official languages. The EC Member States include: Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

Despite their cultural and historical differences, these states have all voted to join together to live in peace. They want to work together to improve their standard of living and to give Europe a bigger say in world affairs than it would have if they remained separate. The people of Western Europe have fought each other for centuries, but now they are determined to settle differences by peaceful negotiation.

1992 was the "Year of Europe." Trade barriers which had separated the Member States for centuries, were abandoned. Goods, services, people, and capital started to move freely among the 12 nations in much the same way that they do among the 50 states of the United States.

The Maastricht Treaty, calling for the creation of a single European currency, a European central bank, and a common foreign and security policy, was said to be a giant step toward making the European Community into a "United States of Europe." But the Danish voters initially decided by a narrow margin to reject the Maastricht Treaty for closer European integration. French voters approved the Maastricht Treaty only narrowly. Without being ratified by all 12 Member States, the Maastricht Treaty cannot take effect.

After 35 years of continuing integration between the 12 nations, many Western Europeans regarded the goal of further economic and political integration with suspicion. The issue that has reentered the discussion is the nagging one of national sovereignty. Should there just be cooperation between European countries, or should there be a closer federation in which the nations transfer some of their sovereign rights to a supranational European Community?

"I have voted Le Pen in the first round because no other party came out and said what's really rotten in France today. France is losing its cultural and national identity." *François Barbey, an unemployed real-estate salesman in Fontenay-sous-Bois.*[42]

"A lot of French people don't know what it means to be French anymore." *Brice Lalonde, a former environment minister who lost his seat in the national elections in 1993, in which the socialist party was defeated.*[43]

handout 2k

"The concept of national sovereignty belongs to a past era, but it has not yet completely died out in the Member States of the [European] Community. The time has come to recognize that it no longer provides the answers to the problems of the world we live in." *Frans Andriesen, vice president of the Commission of the European Community, the executive branch of the European Community.* [44]

"You are betraying your country, you will turn us into a region of Germany." *A Danish grandmother reacting to a speech by Denmark's prime minister, who urged Danes to vote yes to the Maastricht Treaty for closer European integration.* [45]

"We need all our strength now that national borders between the Twelve [Member States] are disappearing in the throes of a silent revolution." *Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of the European Community.* [46]

"There will be no peace in Europe if states are reconstituted on a basis of national sovereignty with all that implies in terms of prestige politics and economic protectionism. If the nations of Europe adopt defensive positions again, huge armies will be necessary again. That was tried in 1941; we all know the result." *Jean Monet, one of the "Fathers of the European Community."* [47]

"With Maastricht [the treaty for closer European union], Europe is going to become another United States. Denmark will just be a small state in a giant Europe." *Tenna Madsen, a 20 years old teacher in a Copenhagen preschool.* [48]

"[Voting for closer European integration and supporting the Maastricht Treaty] will make Denmark stronger. Instead of being a small, isolated country, we can [be part of the European Community and] work together with the rest of Europe." *Holger Schieening, 35 years old, who owns a nursery outside of Copenhagen.* [49]

"I don't want a United States of Europe. There would be no Denmark. We have to preserve Denmark's identity, and we must undo European unification. . . . We Danes are less than 2 percent of the [European] Community, and we'll lose everything. Denmark will be just a patch of Europe attached to Germany." *Kim Jensen, a 31 years old artisan at the old Holmegaard glassworks south of Copenhagen.* [50]

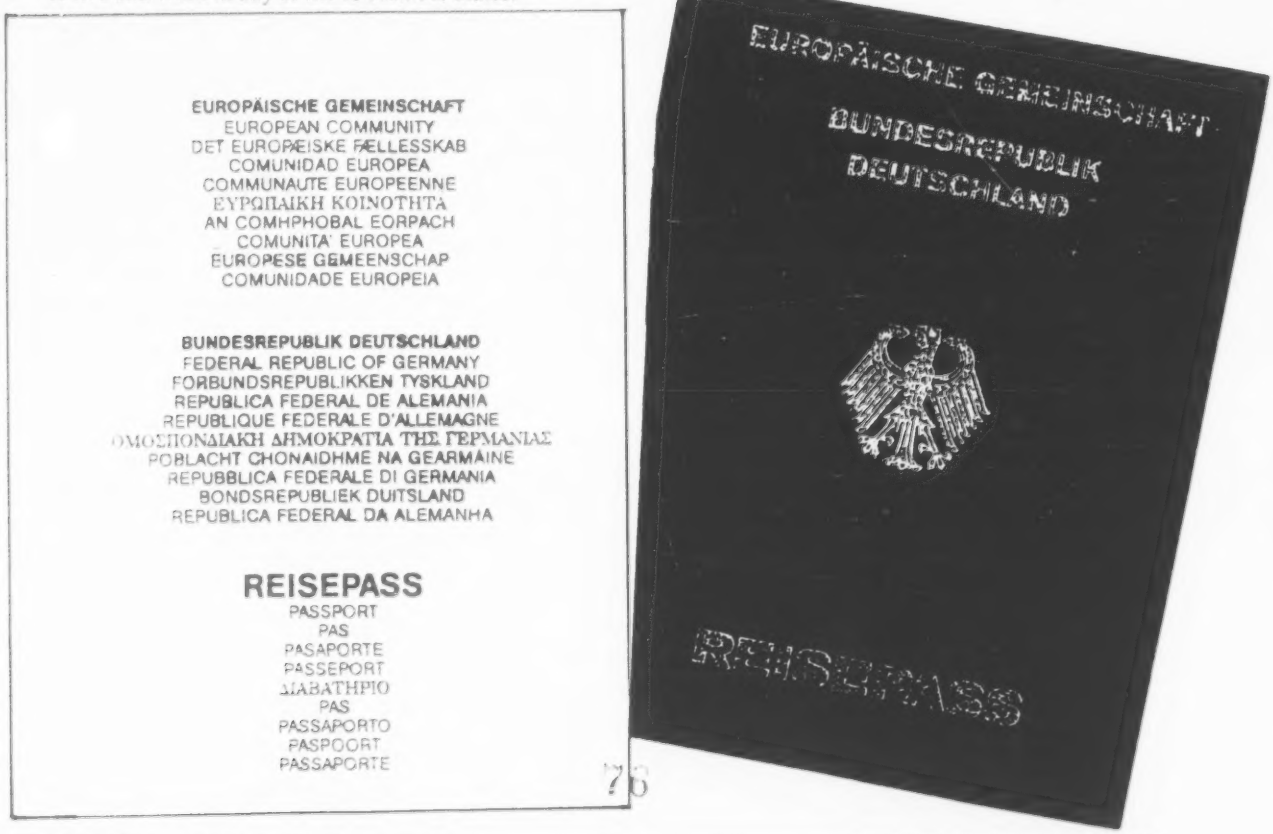
"Would Americans merge the dollar with the Mexican peso?" *Rolf Bier, an editor at* Bild, *one of the largest German newspapers, after being asked what he thought of a single currency.* [51]

"I am the first to say that on many great issues the countries of Europe should try to speak with a single voice, but willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign states is the way to build a successful European Community. Making 80 percent of European decisions in Brussels [the headquarters of the European Community] is absurd, airy-fairy, and over the top." *Margaret Thatcher, former British prime minister, opposed closer European integration.* [52]

(3 of 3)

The European Currency Unit (ECU) is likely to become the European Community's single currency.

The passport of the European Community allows Europeans to live and work in any of the 12 Member States.



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GROUP FIVE: HUNGARY (1 of 3)

Eastern Europe is one part of the world where it's especially true that people stay put and countries move. Hungary, for instance, is a relatively homogeneous state with about 10 million Hungarians. But over three-and-a-half million Hungarians live in neighboring states as a result of border adjustments after World War I.

Now, most of these neighboring states where Hungarian minorities live have broken up—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. New independent states have emerged: Slovakia, Ukraine, and a new Yugoslavia, consisting of the two former Yugoslavian republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

The Hungarians living outside of Hungary consider themselves Hungarians, although their citizenship might be something else. The state to which they owe loyalty is not Hungary but Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, or Romania.

Romanians in particular are afraid that Hungary will again try to take back a region that had belonged to Hungary before World War I and that still has a very large Hungarian population. Hungary claims to have no interest in the territory, but refuses to sign a treaty to that effect, causing tensions with the Romanian government.

"Of course, feelings are running high right now, and we are reminded all the time of how the Slovaks were under pressure from Hungarians for so long." *Rev. Zsigmond Csukas, the 75-year-old pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Samorin, a Slovak town with a large Hungarian minority. Mr. Csuka's life story encapsulates the shifting fortunes of Hungarians living on the border of what was, before 1918, one of Europe's bigger nations. He has been a citizen of five different countries, but has never left the narrow strip of rural villages along what is now the border between Hungary and Slovakia. He was born in 1918, during the reign of Charles, the last Emperor to rule over the territories of Austria-Hungary. A few months later, he became a citizen of Czechoslovakia, when Hungary lost substantial territory as a penalty for siding with Germany in World War I. When the Nazis dismembered Czechoslovakia in 1938, they gave a piece to Hungary, and Mr. Csukas became Hungarian. After World War II, Hungary was once again on the losing side and the territory was restored to Czechoslovakia. And in 1993, that country broke up, and Mr. Csukas took up his fifth citizenship ,this time as a Slovak.* [53]

"I was born in 1917, when this was Hungary. Yes, well [then it became part of Czechoslovakia] and then, between 1940 and 1945, we were again Hungarians. Then we were back to Slovakia, then Czechoslovakia, now Slovakia." *Tereza Mazi, who was born in the town of Szomaria, where she still lives. It's on the north bank of the Danube River.* [54]

"I was born in 1932 as a Czech citizen. Then I went to Hungarian school from 1938 to 1945; I was a Hungarian citizen because they got this territory back. And then I became a Soviet citizen. And now, I am Ukrainian. I lived in four different countries." *Yanocz Hidi, a farmer in a village local Hungarians call Nike Dolblanye.* [55]

"We live in Romania, where the official language is Romanian and the constitution says that every person has to make deference to the official language, and to make himself understood in the official language. . . . And if the constitution says the official language is Romanian, Romanian has to be used as the official language. We have only Romanian citizens in Romania. . . . And if a citizen [of Romania] says that he is Hungarian, I consider that he is not loyal to the Romanian state." *Georgi Funar, mayor of Cluj, Romania, when asked whether they have any Hungarians who want to speak Hungarian in Romania.* [56]

"If you are Hungarian, you stick with us. The murderers are still among us—the Red devils. Red, white, and green are for the Hungarian soil. The sun is shining into the Carpathian Basin. When will Hungary finally be ours?" *Excerpt from a nationalist song, heard at a rally of Hungarian nationalists who seek a 'Greater Hungary," uniting all ethnic Hungarians, including the Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries.* [57]

"I accept Slovaks, but I don't feel as a Slovak. [I don't consider] Slovakia my home, because I consider my home where I have my rights. And since I am deprived of my rights, I can't consider it my home." *George Writer, an ethnic Hungarian who lives in the eastern Slovakian city of Kosice.* [58]

"I do not doubt that the world will understand our expectation that the members of minority nationalities also, in the interest of fuller self-realization, will make use of the conditions created for them by the Slovak republic for mastering the state language as an inevitable integration factor. There is only one Slovak Republic. It is indivisible, and it is the state of all its citizens." *Mikhal Kovac, Slovakia's first president, in his inauguration address, describing the place for Slovakia's Hungarian minority.* [59]

Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia are facing restrictions on the use of their language. In Samorin and other predominantly Hungarian-populated towns, bilingual signs have had the Hungarian parts removed.

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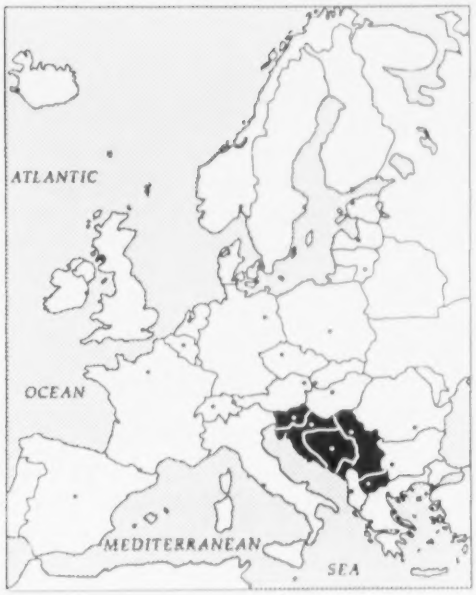
GROUP SIX: FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (1 of 2)



The former Yugoslavia was an attempt to unite several nationalities within one state. Yugoslavia was divided into six republics—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro—that corresponded loosely to six national groups—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Muslims, and Montenegrins. Most republics also hosted large numbers of ethnic minorities. For example, some 3 million Serbs lived outside Serbia, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 43 percent of the population was Muslim, 32 percent was Serb, and 18 percent was Croat.

After World War I, the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" emerged from the ashes of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The name was changed in 1929 to "The Kingdom of Yugoslavia." Conflicting national ideologies have always beset Yugoslavia. Serbs preferred a centrally controlled state, which they could dominate, while Croats and Slovenes wanted a looser political structure in which they had more autonomy.

Some Serbs identified with the idea of a single state incorporating all Serbs, wherever they may live (sometimes referred to as "Greater Serbia"). During World War II, fanatical Croatian nationalists (Ustashis), collaborating closely with the German and Italian fascists, committed atrocities against people of other nationalities, in particular against thousands of Eastern Orthodox Serbs. Most Croats are Roman Catholics.

When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989 and democracies emerged in Eastern Europe, the reform-minded republics of Slovenia and Croatia pushed for a looser confederation and greater autonomy. But communist Serbia insisted on a strongly centralized federation. Since 1990, all the republics except Montenegro and Serbia have declared their independence. The ensuing war, begun in 1991, pitted Serbs, Croats, and Muslims against each other, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in battles for territory, independence, and control. Bosnia-Herzegovina had been Yugoslavia's most ethnically mixed republic—a "little Yugoslavia." In Bosnia-Herzegovina's capital of Sarajevo, the site of the 1984 Winter Olympics, the three nationalities shared one of Europe's most diverse cities.

"Recent events here have led me to think about [my husband]. We married when I was eighteen and he was nineteen. He was from a Serbian family and I was from a Croatian one, but that didn't mean anything to us then. World War II had long been over by the time we were born, and people of my generation were trying to escape the war's shadow, to forget and just live our lives. [My husband] and I never discussed our family's different nationalities. Not because it was forbidden but because it felt unimportant. Perhaps our attitude was a consequence of the repression of the Communist regime, of the brainwashing of our education system, the plan to create an artificial "Yugoslav" nation. All I know is that we were interested not in the past, in who killed whom and why, but in our own lives." *A Croatian citizen from Zagreb, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, now independent Croatia. From* "Balkan Express: Fragments from the Other Side of War."[61]

handout 2m

"It would be like Croats in Toronto setting up their own country in a Toronto suburb." *Ruza, a Croatian-born woman who moved to Canada as a teenager, when asked what she thinks about the 600,000 scattered Serbs in Croatia demanding independence within Croatia's borders.* [62]

"The tragedy and the paradox of this situation now is that [so many young people] have to decide to . . . become Serb or Croat. In this war there is no middle ground. You as a Croat or a Serb become responsible for what all other Croats or Serbs do. You are reduced to a single nationality—almost sentenced to it, since nationality in a war brings a danger of getting killed just because of it. You are now in a situation where you are forced to choose, to identify with something that has always been irrelevant to you, a total abstraction. 'I am from Zagreb,' you used to say, and perhaps it is the only right answer—to be a citizen. But not now. Not here." *A Croatian citizen from Zagreb, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. From "Balkan Express: Fragments from the Other Side of War."*[63]

"Recently an American friend asked me how it happened that the most liberal and prosperous communist country was the one that was now at war. . . . People in the West always tend to forget one key thing about Yugoslavia, that we . . . were living under only a mild repression, with a decent standard of living. We in Yugoslavia didn't really suffer. We didn't like [the communist government] at all, but we compromised if it left us alone, if it didn't press too hard. We didn't build a political underground of people with liberal, democratic values ready to lead the government [after the communist government was defeated]; not because it was impossible but, on the contrary, because the repression was not harsh enough to produce the need for it." *A Croatian citizen from Zagreb, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, now independent Croatia. From "Balkan Express: Fragments From the Other Side of War."*[64]

"The basic idea behind aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to destroy the tradition of different ethnic groups living together. On just one street in Sarajevo, you will see signs of almost all the world's major religions. You have a Jewish synagogue. You have a mosque. You have an orthodox church. You have a Roman Catholic church. And that is something that has been there for centuries, 400 or 500 years. The idea of building a Serbian empire, a "Greater Serbia" is to destroy the structure of cosmopolitan Bosnia-Herzegovina and its tradition. ...You cannot make Sarajevo a Muslim city without thinking about what you will do with 100,000 Serbs and 30,000 Croats living there. The only chance for survival of the state is a return to the good old tradition of living together in tolerance. Without a secular state of equal citizens, no matter what religion or what ethnic group, there is no future for Bosnia." *Kemal Kurspahic, a Muslim, who heads an ethnically mixed staff that has continued to publish a newspaper despite the fighting in and around Sarajevo.*[65]

"For us Serbs, it is better to commit collective suicide than to live with others any longer." *Aleska Buha, the so-called foreign minister of the Serbs who live in Bosnia-Herzegovina.* [66]

"A person's religion or ethnic background was not something that mattered in our relations as we people in the cities were very cosmopolitan. We never used to keep our doors locked. Any neighbor or friend—of any ethnicity—could walk into each other's houses at any time." *Sabina Imeri-Chua, a 39-year-old Croat, who runs her own travel agency in Sarajevo.* [67]

"You cannot imagine the sadness and pain [of watching the break-up of Yugoslavia]. I spent so many good times in Bosnia and Croatia—they were all part of Yugoslavia. I see myself as a Yugoslavian first. Because I was born in Belgrade, I am a Serb. But I also see myself as a Slav because that's where all our roots are—Muslims, Croats, and Serbs." *Tomislav Justic, general manager of JAT, the national airline of former Yugoslavia.* [68]

GROUP SEVEN: UNITED KINGDOM (1 of 3)

Americans are sometimes confused by the various names applied to Britain, or Great Britain. Its official name is The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Four areas combine to make The United Kingdom, or the U.K.: England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The term Great Britain encompasses England, Wales and Scotland.

One of the greatest political problems facing the United Kingdom is the situation in Northern Ireland. The conflict, like so many other conflicts, is difficult to untangle. Part of the explanation lies in Ireland's past, with many of the events in Irish history still being remembered by the people of Northern Ireland. In 1949, the British Parliament passed the Ireland Act, granting total independence to the Republic of Ireland, an area encompassing 26 counties. The British retained control of six northern counties. This area is *Northern Ireland*, often referred to as *Ulster*.

Ulster's population has been predominantly Protestant since the late 1600s, when Queen Elizabeth I granted plots of land to loyal Scottish Presbyterians, forcing Catholics to give up their land. Today, Protestants outnumber the Catholics in Ulster by two to one, whereas the Republic of Ireland is 94 percent Catholic. In 1969, Catholics in Ulster began a civil rights movement. Discriminated against in employment, housing, and political affairs, Northern Ireland's Catholic minority took to the streets to demonstrate. British troops were sent to Northern Ireland as a result of violence between Protestants and Catholics. Sympathy for the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland has been exploited by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), a militant Catholic group that fights against the British for a unified Ireland. Protestant militants, afraid of the Protestants becoming a minority in case of a unified Ireland, formed the Ulster Defense Association. During the past 23 years, more than 3,000 people have been killed and 14,000 bomb attacks have occurred.

Welsh and Scottish nationalism is, like Irish republican nationalism, essentially anti-English, but they don't get much attention in the international media. Both are upstaged by the terrorist violence of Irish nationalism. But Welsh and Scottish nationalism are, nonetheless, real, if marginal, political forces. Welsh and Scottish nationalists are desperately seizing European unity to dilute the national power of the United Kingdom. They figure that if the United Kingdom is transferring more of its sovereign powers to the supranational European Community, Wales and Scotland will receive more regional powers and thus gain more independence from the United Kingdom. Both Welsh and Scottish nationalism have been based primarily on language.

handout 2n

"You have to analyze the conflicting and diverse aspirations of two groups of people. The [Catholics'] aspirations are to be part of a United Ireland, and the [Protestants'] aspiration is to maintain the link with Britain. And we've got to find institutions which permit the expression of those conflicting and diverse aspirations. Therein lies the dilemma. It's going to take a degree of tolerance that we have failed to establish down through the years. And to require respect for diverse traditions." *Dick Spring, deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs of Ireland.* [69]

"The only way to get a British withdrawal [and an end to the conflict in Northern Ireland] is in the context of agreement on new arrangements in Ireland. . . . It seems clear to me that, if there was agreement on some form of Irish unity, the British would honor and respect that, and do what they could to help deliver." *Mark Durkan, an Irish nationalist and chairperson of the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP), which wants to end the conflict in Northern Ireland through political means.* [70]

"The IRA bomb that destroyed the Baltic Exchange [in London] had a political effect. . . . My hard view is the British government haven't changed their policy and aren't about to change, that we're in for another maybe five years of it." *Mitchel McLaughlin, an Irish nationalist and chairperson of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the militant Irish Republican Army (IRA), which believes in ending the conflict in Northern Ireland through the use of force.* [71]

"We are all Europeans, so it probably helps us to build up better relations between North and South, between Ireland and the United Kingdom, because we are all participating actively within the European Community." *Mary Robinson, Irish president.* [72]

"3,000 dead in 23 years, 14,000 bombs, 34,000 shootings, and all this in a country with barely enough people to fill a single telephone directory. It's as grim a war as any, viewed from that perspective, and extremely perplexing to white South Africans. We say, what's the problem? They're all white, they all speak English, they're all Christians of some kind or another, and yet they are locked in a cycle of violence that rivals Bosnia [Yugoslavia] or the West Bank [Israel] or even our own Boers-vs.-Blacks shinning in terms of sheer bloody-mindedness and absolute intractability." *Rian Malan, a distinguished South African journalist, who visited Northern Ireland.* [73]

"Twenty-three years of sectarian tension and bloodshed have turned Belfast's urban war zone into a virtual insane asylum, full of people with nervous tics and trembling hands and eyes that gleam paranoically at the most innocent of questions. They can't tell the enemy by looking at him, so they've invented all these obscure codes and arcane riddles to distinguish friend from foe. A pigeon fancier is probably Protestant. A hurley player is definitely a Taig. A cricketer could be either, but a Rangers fan is an Orangeman." *Rian Malan, a distinguished South African journalist, who visited Northern Ireland.* [74]

"Given that the British Government has stated it cannot defeat the I.R.A. and that the I.R.A. has stated that it cannot defeat the British Government, my simple Irish mind tells me the logic pf that is that the only thing that'll solve the problem is doalogue. . . . Ireland is in a post-nationalism age, where independence must be replaced by interdependence." *John Hume, head of the Social Democratic Labor Party, whose ultimate objective is a Northern Ireland free of british sovereignty and incorporated into the Irish republic to the south.* [75]

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Comment on the following questions:

- Will new national or regional configurations in Europe enhance or diminish the prospects of peace?
- Is the principle of self-determination a blueprint for freedom and peace or for perpetual instability and war?
- What rules of minority rights should the world recognize? Does the international community have a right to intervene in a sovereign state when such rights are violated?

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Lesson Three

FROM "RABBLE" TO "NATION"— THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM

What are some of the major forces in history which have shaped national identities and consciousness? How are these forces reflected in the arts?

Introduction

In this lesson, students will begin to trace the development of the concept of nationalism from democratic ideas. Students analyze some of the key forces, ideas, and events that were the result of the revolutionary era of the 18th century and that produced the particular national societies in Europe.

In the first part of this lesson, students will look at how the idea of nationalism was reflected in the arts by analyzing a painting that conveys the political temper of Europe in the early 19th century, excerpts from a 19th century national opera, and excerpts from a piece of romantic literature.

In the second part, students will look at nationalism and liberalism, the struggle for the rights of the individual, and the struggle of a people for freedom from foreign rule. They will look at the fundamental conflict between nationalism and liberalism and at the dangers inherent in nationalism.

Objectives

- to appreciate the importance of liberalism and romanticism with regard to nationalism
- to understand the political concept of legitimacy and its relationship to nationalism
- to understand that popular sovereignty (the location of sovereignty within the people) and the recognition of the fundamental equality each person are at the basic tenets of democracy
- to analyze nationalist forces and ideas of the early 19th century Europe through music, literature, and art

lesson three

- to recognize the different forms of nationalism, from a benign and positive force to unifying a country, to xenophobia and exclusivity

Time We recommend two class periods for this lesson.

Materials

- Handout 3A, *Art and Nationalism*, one copy per pair
- Handout 3B, *Music and Nationalism*, one copy per pair
- Handout 3C, *Literature and Nationalism*, one copy per pair
- Handout 3D, *Power to The People*, one copy per pair
- Handout 3E, *The Greek Proclamation of Independence*, one copy per pair
- Handout 3F, *The Different Faces of Nationalism*, one copy per pair
- Handout 3G, *Research Project*, one copy per student
- Audio cassette *Nationalism and Music*
- Cassette Recorder

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PART ONE: NATIONALISM IN THE ARTS

In the early 19th century, nationalist feelings were awakened by a new cultural orientation, romanticism. Romanticism emphasized the liberation of human emotions and the free expression of personality in artistic creations. By examining the language, literature, and folkways of their people, and by valuing the nation's past, romantics instilled a sense of national pride in their compatriots. The emphasis on the unique culture of a people stimulated the national consciousness especially among Germans and the various Slavic peoples who lived under foreign rule. Their concern for a people's history and traditions contributed to the development of nationalism. It was only a small step from cultural nationalism to the political nationalism that called for national liberalism, unification, and statehood.

Nationalism in Painting

In *Liberty Leading the People*, a painting done in 1830, Eugene Delacroix gives an allegory of revolution, liberalism, and romanticism. It is one of the most important paintings that expresses the political temper of early 19th century Europe.

Liberty, a partly nude, majestic woman, carries the banner of the French Republic, the 'tricolore' (liberty, equality, fraternity), and leads *the people* forward to the barricades. Although this painting does not represent a specific incident, it represents the popular struggles of that time for both individual freedom and the freedom of a people from foreign rule, such as the revolt of the Greeks against Turkish rule in the 1820s.

Suggested Procedures

1. Divide the class into pairs and distribute a copy of Handout 3A, *Art and Nationalism*, to each student pair. Have students read the handout, then answer the questions.

2. Debrief answers through general discussion. In addition, ask students the following questions:
   - Who were the people, and under what political situation did the people live? *'The people' were treated as "subjects", "owned" by the ruler with no or few individual rights and no political representation.*
   - Who had the final power and the supreme authority to make rules for the people living in a state? *In most premodern states, sovereignty resided with the ruler.*

Nationalism in Music

Until the 19th century, a large number of European countries had no great or unbroken musical tradition of their own but had long been musically dependent on other nations, chiefly Germany, Italy, and France. Nationalism was an important force in 19th century music. It not only reflected the ideas of romanticism through the use of folk idioms

and folk elements, but it was also one of the weapons by which composers sought to free themselves from the domination of foreign music.

The elements and ideas of nationalism can be identified in both the text and music written by romantic composers:

Text:

- used the national language
- was based on nationalist themes, often allegorical, strongly heroic, dramatic, and mythical
- made textual or situational references to the homeland

Music:

- used folk elements
- used other national elements (religion, anthems, etc.)
- used choruses to represent "the people"

As a movement, nationalism in music was self-conscious, and sometimes aggressive. It underlay such externals as the choice of national subjects for operas and symphonic poems, the collecting and publishing of folk songs, and the occasional quoting of folk tunes in compositions. A more important consequence was the rise of new styles through fertilization of orthodox German music by tonal, melodic, harmonic, rhythmic, and formal characteristics of the national idioms.

This development took place earliest in Russia. Until the 19th century, secular art and music in Russia was to a great extent in the hands of Italian, French, or German composers. Russian opera has always been an official, state affair, much more so than in other countries. Opera production took place chiefly at court and was financed, directed, and censored there. Opera contributed to the development of Russian national identity, especially by treating Russian historical topics.

The birth of a distinctly national style in Russian music can be traced to the opera *A Life of the Tsar by* Michail Glinka (1804-57). Following Glinka, the operas of Modest Mussorgsky (1839-81) give the voice of Russian music an individual accent, with its own shapes and contours.

In this part of lesson three, students will study the Russian opera *Boris Godunov*to learn how the idea of nationalism was reflected in music.

Considered by many the greatest work of Russian music in the 19th century, the opera of Boris Godunov was one of the definitive points in the development of modernism and nationalism in music. In the late 1860s, Mussorgsky considered the unrest during the reign of Tsar Boris Godunov (1598-1605) and the time of trouble that followed, beginning with the false Dimitri's ascendancy to the throne, to be a very timely

issue, as tsarist Russia was beset by political unrest during the entire last half of the 19th century. Boris Godunov was written between 1868 and 1874, and first performed in 1874.

In 1861, serfdom was abolished, but this only marked the beginning of the problems for the peasants, who had no land of their own; young students were also organizing political and revolutionary groups to combat social injustice. Thousands of intellectuals were convicted in mock trials on trumped-up charges arising from these political activities. The unrest reached its peak in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. Mussorgsky illustrated these historical parallels in his work, expressing this in his famous phrase of "discovering the ways of the past in the realities of the present." [77]

The first version of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* was rejected by the Royal St. Petersburg Theater in 1870, as was the second, revised version of the opera. The rejection was probably based on political grounds: the Russian people are the heroes of the piece, singing revolutionary songs at the conclusion and having the last say through their symbolic figure, the Simpleton. That *Boris Godunov* was regarded as a piece of unwelcome political agitation is not at all surprising. From the 1860's onwards, various political groups had sought to politically educate and mobilize the peasants in Russia and the state had persecuted these groups as terrorists. In 1876 the opera suffered further cuts, including the revolutionary finale, after which the work disappeared from the Russian operatic repertoire. It was not until 1896 that the work was again produced on stage in Russia.

Plot:

The opera recounts the reign of Tsar Boris Godunov (1598-1605) who came to power after the death of the Terrible by killing his rival to throne, his young nephew Dimitri. A false Dimitri appears and raises an army, claiming to be the true heir to the throne. Boris ultimately goes mad and dies, while the false Dimitri invades the country. The opera presages evil days to come.

Historical Significance:

The events in the story are freely adapted from events in Russian history. The story makes a social statement: "the people" are the heroes, victims of their oppressive government. More important, it stands as a strongly Russian piece of music.

Music and Nationalism:

- Folk and church elements: Both Russian folk and Russian church elements are strongly represented in the music (as well as modernistic features and Mussorgsky's own personal style).
- Choruses: Choruses are a key feature in which 'the people' are presented as powerful and unified.

- References to Homeland: The work features a number of references to homeland, as well as major regions and cities in Russia.

Excerpts

Prologue: Courtyard of the Novodiechy Monastery near Moscow.

Plot: Following the commands of a police officer, the people loudly beg Boris Godunov to accept the crown of Tsar. As soon as the police officer turns away, the people break into sarcastic commentary. An official order that all are to assemble in front of the Kremlin the next morning provokes reactions of sullen resentment in the people.

Music: Folk and church elements with a clear, nationalistic (populist) theme.

Act 4, Scene 3. A clearing in the forest near Kromy.

Plot: The crowd denounces Boris as a murderer, propagating the rightful Tsar Dimitri and inciting the people to tie up the Jesuits passing by.

Music: Strong elements of folk music, choral singing.

Suggested Procedures

1. Explain to the students that they will listen to excerpts from *Boris Godunov* by Modest Mussorgsky. You might want to use some of the teacher background information for your introduction to music and nationalism.

2. Point out to the students that most European countries had no great musical tradition of their own, but had long been musically dependent on other nations, chiefly Italy, Germany, and France.

   The ideal music of the middle and later 18th century, the period just before the rise of national opera and the growth of interest in folk songs, might be described as follows: music should be cosmopolitan, its language should be universal, not limited by national boundaries; it should be noble as well as entertaining; and it should be "natural," in the sense of being free of needless technical complications and capable of immediately pleasing any normally sensitive listener. The music that most fully realized these ideals was written in the Classical period, approximately the years 1770 to 1800, and its masters were Haydn, Mozart, and the young Beethoven. (If you have access to recordings from some of the composers of the Classical period, play excerpts of that music to the students and ask them to compare the music with the national opera they are going to hear later.

3. Distribute a copy of Handout 3B, *Music and Nationalism*, to each student pair and ask the students to read the introduction and read the questions.

4. Play the cassette *Nationalism and Music*. The length of the recording is approximately five minutes. Give students enough time to answer the questions and analyze the text excerpts.

5. Debrief answers with the entire class.

Nationalism and Literature

The romantic movement, which began in the closing decades of the 18th century, dominated European cultural life in the first half of the 19th century. The romantics found the rationalism and common sense of the 18th century shallow and superficial. They believed that the force of the individual was not to be found in intellect and reason, but in the individual's sentiments and emotions, which distinguished that individual from all the others. Romantics recognized the distinctive qualities of historical periods, peoples, and cultures.

- Distribute a copy of Handout 3C, *Literature and Nationalism*, to each student pair. Have students answer the question and debrief the answer through general discussion.

PART TWO: NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM

Before the Enlightenment of the 1700s, the words *nation* and *state* meant pretty much the same thing. The boundaries of a state were decided by the extent of territory over which a king had control. His control may have come through birthright, conquest, or marriage. The word *nation* was applied to the population of the country and made synonymous with the word *people*. It did not matter what language the people within these boundaries spoke, what they called themselves, or what kinds of cultural traditions they followed. It also did not matter whether different groups of people inside the boundaries got along and respected each other because a ruler had the right to rule them if he controlled the territory they lived in. People were often seen as property of the king, subject to his bidding.

The essential components of nationalism emerged at the time of the French Revolution. By the end of the Enlightenment, the idea that people were simply subjects of the king began to change. Instead, many people began to believe that sovereignty rested with and was derived from the *nation*—the people as a whole. The state was not the private possession of the ruler but the embodiment of the people's will. The *nation* was above king, church, estate, guild, or province; it superseded all other loyalties. A government was thought to be legitimate (legal) only if represented by the people. These two ideas—that ultimate sovereignty belongs to the people, and that a government's legitimacy comes from the consent of the people—were crucial in fashioning a nationalist outlook

Struggle for national rights—the freedom of a people from foreign rule—is an extension of the struggle for the rights of the individual. Liberals called for the unification of Germany and Italy, the rebirth of Poland, the liberation of Greece from Turkish rule, and the granting of autonomy to the Hungarians of the Austrian Empire. Liberal nationalists envisioned a Europe of independent states based on nationality and popular sovereignty.

Suggested Procedures

1. Distribute one copy of the following handouts to each student pair (one copy at a time): Handout 3D, *Power to the People;* and Handout 3E, *The Greek Proclamation of Independence*. Have students answer the questions and debrief the answers through general discussion.

2. After students have analyzed the two handouts and answered the questions, check for understanding by asking the following questions:
   - How did the Enlightenment and the ideas of liberalism and Romanticism contribute to the rise of modern nationalism?
   - What is the relationship between nationalism and liberalism/democracy? *The location of sovereignty within the people and the recognition of the fundamental equality of each person constitute*

the essence of the modern national idea, and are at the same time the basic tenets of democracy. While liberalism, democracy, and the idea of universal rights transcended all national borders, nationalism spread in different conditions with the emphasis on the idea of the nation moving from the sovereign character to the uniqueness of the people. Point out to students that the close relationship between nationalism and democracy/liberalism can be seen in the most recent changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where nationalist feelings reemerged as soon as liberal forces within these states increased.

3. Distribute a copy of Handout 3F, *The Different Faces of Nationalism*, to each student pair and allow enough time for most pairs to answer the questions.

4. To bring this lesson to a close, discuss the following questions:
   - Out of which important ideas did the modern concept of national identity and nationalism grow? *1. A government's legitimacy (legal power) comes from the consent of its citizens, the people being governed. 2. Ultimate sovereignty (final power) belongs to the people, not the ruler. 3. Freedom to the people.*
   - How were these forces and ideas expressed and reflected in the arts?

5. Distribute a copy of Handout 3G, *Research Project*, to each student.

ART AND NATIONALISM

Eugene Delacroix, 1830. Oil on canvas, Louvre, Paris. Reprinted by permission.

TITLE _____

Discuss the above painting and try to determine what it portrays. In particular, which symbols and other references are used to express the political temper of Europe in the early 19th century? Write your ideas below and select a title for the above painting

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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MUSIC AND NATIONALISM (1 of 2)

Boris Godunov
by Modest Mussorgsky.

Performed by Nicolai Ghiaurov and the Sofia Festival Orchestra,
and the Sofia National Opera Chorus, September 1986.
Conducted by Emil Tchakarov

Boris Godunov was written between 1868 and 1874 and first performed in 1874. It is considered the greatest work of Russian music written in the 19th century. It was one of the definitive points in the development of modernism and nationalism in music.

PLOT

The opera recounts the reign of Tsar Boris Godunov (1598-1605) who came to power after the death of Ivan the Terrible by killing his rival to throne, his young nephew Dimitri. A false Dimitri appears and raises an army, claiming to be the true heir to the throne. Boris ultimately goes mad and dies, while the false Dimitri invades the country. The opera presages evil days to come.

EXCERPTS

1. *Music and Text: Prologue: Courtyard of the Novodiechy Monastery near Moscow.*

   Plot: Police officer hassles a crowd, which is begging Boris Godunov to accept the crown of Tsar.

2 *Music only: Act 4, Scene 2: A forest near Kromy.*

   Plot: The crowd denounces Boris as a murderer.

1. Listen very carefully to the music. How is the idea of nationalism expressed in the music of these excerpts? What musical elements are used to signify the idea of nationalism?

2. Read the text excerpts. What text symbols and other forms of allegory are used to express the idea of nationalism?

MUSIC AND NATIONALISM (2 of 2)

SHCHELKALOV
(Vychodit k narodu; klanjaetsja narodu.)
Pechal na Rusi...
Pechal bezyschodnaja,
Pravoslavnye!
Stonet zemlja v zlom besprav'i.
Ko Gospodu sil pripadite:
Da nisposhlet on skorbnoj
Rusi uteshen'e ...
I ozarit nebesnym svetom
Borisa ustalyj duch!

CHOR KALIK PERECHOICH
(za scenoj)
Slava Tebe, Tvorcu Vsevyshnemu,
Na zemli,
Slava Silam Tvoim nebesnym
I vsem ugodnikam,
Slava na Rusi!
Slava Tebe Vsevyshnemu,
Slava!

NAROD
(shepotom)
"Bozh'i ljudi!"
(priblizajas')
Angel Gospoden'miru rek:
Podnimajtes', Tuchi groznye,
Nesites' na zemlju russkuju!
Vy nesites' po podnebes'ju,
Zastilajte zemlju russkuju!
(Vchodjat na scenu.)
Sokrushite zmija ljuta,
So dvanadesjat'ju krylami choboty,
Tavo zmija, smuto russkuju,
Da beznachalie.
Vozvestite prvoslavnym,
Da vo spasen'e.
(Razdajut narodu obrazki i ladonki.)
Oblekajtes'v rizy svetlye,
Podnimajte ikony Vladychicy,
I so Donskoj,
I so Vladimirskoj
Grjadite Carju vo sreten'e!
(Uchodjat k monastyriu.)
Vospojte slavu Bozh'ju,
Slavu sil svatych nebesnych!
(za scenoj)
Slave Tebe, Tvorcu, na zemli!
Slave Otcu nebesnomu!

SCHELKALOV
(comes out to the people; bows to the people)
A great sorrow has befallen Russia...
A desperate sorrow,
Orthodox folk!
Our land is groaning with the evil of lawlessness.
Bow down to the Almighty
That he may send some consolidation
To sorrowing Russia...
That he might brighten Boris' weary soul
With the light of heaven!

CHORUS OF WANDERING MINSTRELS
(off stage)
Glory to Thee, Creator on high,
And on earth,
Glory to Thy heavenly powers,
And to all Thy saints,
Glory in Russia!
Glory to Thee, Almighty Lord,
Glory!

THE PEOPLE
(in a whisper)
"Godfearing folk!"
(approaching)
Thus spake the angel of the Lord to the world:
Arise, stormy clouds,
Fly to the land of Russia!
Fly now through the heavens,
And cover the land of Russia!
(They come out on the stage)
Slay the cruel serpent,
with his twelve wings and tails,
That serpent, Russian troubles,
And anarchy.
Make your proclamation to the orthodox folk
And may salvation reign.
(They distribute icons and amulets among the people)
Don pale vestments,
Raise the icons of Our Lady,
And with the icons of the Don
And of Vladimir,
Go forth to meet the Tsar!
(They go away towards the convent.)
Sing in praise of the glory of the Lord,
The glory of the sacred powers in heaven!
(off-stage)
Glory to Thee, Creator on earth!
Glory to the heavenly Father!

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LITERATURE AND NATIONALISM

Ernst Moritz Arndt was born in Swedish Pomerania and, like most Germans of his time, felt in his youth no attachment to Germany, but only loyalty for his territorial prince—in his case, the King of Sweden. After having traveled widely in parts of Germany, Italy, and France, he discovered the deep differences which, as he believed, language and geographic conditions created. In unmistakably romantic tones, he urged Germans to unite against Napoleon.

How did romantics like Ernst Moritz Arndt instill a sense of national pride and national identity in the people?

German man, feel again God, hear and fear the eternal, and you hear and fear also your Volk [people]. You feel again in God the honor and dignity of your fathers, their glorious history rejuvenates itself in you, their firm and gallant virtue reblossoms in you, the whole German fatherland stands again before you in the august halo of past centuries! . . .

From the North Sea to the Carpathians, from the Baltic to the Alps, from the Vistual to the Schelde, one faith, one love, one courage, and one enthusiasm must gather again the whole German Volk [people] in a brotherly community. . . .

Above the ruins and ashes of their destroyed fatherland the Germans must tearfully join hands and pray and swear all to stand like one man and fight until the scared land will be free. . .

Feel the infinite and sublime which slumbers hidden in the lap of the days, those bright and mighty spirits which now glimmer in isolated meteors but which soon will shine in all suns and stars; feel the new birth of time, the higher cleaner breath of spiritual life, and be no longer misled and confused by the insignificant and small!

No longer Catholics and Protestants, no longer Prussians and Austrians, Saxons and Bavarians, Silesians and Hanoverians, no longer of different faith, different mentality, and different will—be Germans, be one, will to be one by love and loyalty, and no devil will defeat you!

Ernst Moritz Arndt,
Ausgewählte Werke[78]

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Below, you will find excerpts from the *French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens* and *Second Treatise on Government* by John Locke, a British philosopher of the Enlightenment. These documents, along with other documents such as the American Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, were considered a call for the end of the "Old Regime." Their affirmation of liberty, reason, and natural rights inspired liberal reformers throughout Europe and other countries.

How are the ideas of liberty, reason, and natural rights expressed in these excerpts?

The Representatives of the people of France, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of Government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights.

I. Men are born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political association, is, the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally, or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honors, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

Adopted by the French National Assembly, August 27, 1789 [79]

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Political power is that power, which every man having in the state of nature, has given up into the hands of the society, and therein to the governors, who the society hath set over itself, with this express or tacit trust, that it shall be employed for their good, and the preservation of their property . . .

These are the bounds, which the trust, that is put in them by the society, and the law of God and nature, have set to the legislative power of every common-wealth, in all forms of government.

First, they are to govern by promulgated established laws, not to be varied in particular cases, but to have one rule for rich and poor, for the favourite at court, and the country man at the plough.

Secondly, these laws also ought to be designed for no other end ultimately, but the good of the people.

Thirdly, they must not raise taxes on the property of the people, without the consent of the people, given by themselves, or their deputies.

Fourthly, the legislature neither must nor can transfer the power of making laws to anybody else, or place it any where, but the people.

Two Treatises of Civil Government, *John Locke (1632-1704)* [80]

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THE GREEK PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Below, you will find excerpts from the Greek Proclamation of Independence, issued in 1822. In 1821 the Greek War of Independence began with an unsuccessful revolt against the Ottoman Empire, which had ruled Greece since the mid-15th century. Though Greek independence was proclaimed on 13 January 1822, heavy fighting between the Greeks and the Turks continued until 1829.

How does the Greek proclamation of independence exemplify liberal and nationalist ideals?

"The Greek Nation, wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims today, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representatives, met in a national assembly, its independence.

Descendants of a generous and enlightened nation, witnesses of the happiness which sacred ægis of law secures to the civilized nations of Europe! Ye all know, that the measure of our sufferings was full. It was impossible for us any longer to bear, without being charged with cowardice and stupidity, the cruel scourge of Ottoman rule.

. . . Our warfare against the Turks . . . is a national war, undertaken for the sole purpose of reconquering our rights, and securing our existence and honour. In vain did injustice, by depriving us of all securities, hope to stifle in our hearts the conviction of their necessity. As if, formed out of the vilest materials, we were condemned by nature to perpetual servitude; doomed to crouch beneath the wild sway of ferocious tyrants, who came from afar to subdue and crush us.

. . . wishing to advance as the equals of the Christians of Europe, in the paths of civilization, we combined into one great war all the partial and secret conflicts which we had long waged against the Ottoman empire. We swore to conquer, and to behold, our country governed by just laws, or to disappear from the earth.

As soon as circumstances allowed us to think of a plan of government, we saw the Greek continent of the east and west, the Peloponnesus, and the islands, successively proceed in their organization, and prepare the way for that general constitutional system which was necessary to direct the progress of our revolution.

For this purpose, the deputies of the provinces and of the islands, being duly authorised, and having met in a national assembly, and after deliberately considering the state of the country, have decreed the basis and the provisional form of the government which is to preside over the future destinies of your country. This government, founded on justice, instituted by universal consent, is now the only legitimate and national government. The nations of Greece will therefore hasten to recognize it.

The National Assembly to the Greeks [81]

THE DIFFERENT FACES OF NATIONALISM

From Nation . . . to Nationalism . . . to Nazism? Germans worry that innocent beginnings could turn ominous.
Karl Gerd Striepecke/Neue Westfälische Zeitung, March, 1992[81]

The figures in this cartoon represent a progression of nationalistic feelings. Discuss the cartoon within your group and answer the following questions:

1. What type of nationalistic feelings does each figure represent?

2. What conditions might cause a people or a nation to move from one stage to the other? Is it always the case that nationalistic feelings will move on to the third phase? Are nationalistic feelings always threatening or disruptive?

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RESEARCH PROJECT

The concept of 'nation' is something quite normal, and positive. It corresponds to the human need for belonging, group formation, and group identity. But the concept of 'nation' can also be a force for division.

Think about a particular group of your choice—neighborhood; community; city; nation; etc.—and how the identity and consciousness of that particular group is being shaped and reinforced. How is the idea of belonging and identity reflected in documents, music, art, literature, etc. of that particular group? What are the forces of unity, and what are the forces for division? Bring examples to share with the rest of the class.

Lesson Four

SLUGONIA—CONFLICT IN A MULTI-NATIONAL STATE

What are the various dimensions of conflict? How can one manage and resolve competing national and ethnic conflicts?

Introduction

In the previous lessons, students have been introduced to the concept of identity and how different identities can lead to conflicts between groups. They have also been introduced to some of the past and present ethnic and national conflicts in Europe, and they have looked at some of the major forces in history that have shaped national identities and consciousness—the basis of ethnic and national conflicts.

In this two-day lesson, students are first introduced to some of the key characteristics and mechanisms of conflicts at all levels and to basic conflict management/resolution alternatives.

In a simulation, students are then introduced to a hypothetical multi-national state, Slugonia, which is on the brink of disintegration after the end of communist rule. Students play the roles of members of the various national groups within Slugonia. The players must formulate their main goals and bargain with the other national groups.

This curriculum unit concludes with students considering ways in which interpersonal and international conflicts are related. In particular, they will reflect on conflicts between identity groups. Such conflicts involve basic values and beliefs and cannot be bargained over or negotiated as easily as conflicts between interests groups that happen to have opposing, but negotiable interests.

Objectives

- to develop a general understanding of conflict, and to recognize the key elements of conflict (participants, goals, interruption; management/resolution methods, results)

lesson four

- to become aware of the different levels of conflict (intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup, international, global)
- to explore methods of dealing with conflict (conflict resolution and conflict management)
- to recognize how complex many conflicts are
- to act out the processes involved in national/ethnic conflict situations
- to gain an understanding of what it can mean to be a member of a nation in a multinational state

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This two-part lesson can be used in conjunction with nationalism in the contemporary world or unresolved problems of the modern world in the 10th grade level. It may also be a valuable supplement for focusing on the concepts of conflict and conflict management/resolution.

Time

We recommend two class periods for this lesson.

Materials

- Handout 4A, *Slugonia—A Multinational State*, one copy per student
- Handout 4B, *"Identity" Cards*, see procedures
- Handout 4C, *Name Tags*, see procedures
- Handout 4D, *United Nations Observers—Instructions*, three copies
- Handout 4E, *Demand List*, three copies
- Handout 4F, *United Nations Observers—Election Results*, one copy
- Transparency 4A, *A Cartoonist's Perspective*
- Butcher paper or posters to identify the republics
- Felt pens and masking tape
- Straight pins for name tags

This icon will indicate a special connection to the conflicts presented in this curriculum unit, for example, competing national and ethnic conflicts and conflicts between identity groups. Students will be asked to use the information presented to them in previous lessons, particularly the various ethnic and national conflicts described in the Readers' Theater in lesson two.

PART ONE: THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT

Suggested Procedures

1. To provide a context for the study of conflict and to make a connection to previous lessons, display Transparency 4A, *A Cartoonist's Perspective*, and ask students to generate a series of questions that are based on the cartoon (see Notes to the Teacher: Using Political Cartoons for a Writing Assignment in lesson one).

2. Engage students in a discussion by asking the following:
   - What examples of conflict have students seen or experienced in their lives? Note these conflicts on butcher paper or chalk board. *The point is to show that conflict exists and is part of students' lives. Possible responses may be conflict related to crime, dating, friends student/teacher arguments, teen/parent arguments, tests, etc.*
   - What are some similarities or patterns among the responses given? *Possible answers might be: all conflicts have causes and resolution alternatives; all conflicts have participants; etc.*
   - What are some of the differences in the conflicts? *Possible answers might be: conflicts can be planned or unplanned, useful or not useful, violent or nonviolent, inevitable or avoidable, etc.*
   - What are some synonyms and antonyms for "conflict?" *Supplement the students' list with the following terms. Possible synonyms might include* hassle, competition, fight, problem, dissonance, tension, disagreement, dispute. *Possible antonyms might be* harmony, accord, agreement, friendship, peace. *Note that these words are not equal for all situations. For example, although a fight is a type of conflict, not all conflicts are fights. Also, students may choose as synonyms words meaning* violence. *Explain to students that conflicts are not necessarily violent, although they certainly can be.*

3. Write the following list on butcher paper or chalkboard:

TYPES OF CONFLICT

Intrapersonal
Interpersonal
Intragroup
Intergroup
International
Global

- *Intrapersonal conflict* involves a single individual whose two or more goals, beliefs, or actions cannot be reconciled or achieved simultaneously. For instance, if a student wants both to do well

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on an exam tomorrow and to go to a party with friends tonight, she or he faces intrapersonal conflict.

- *Interpersonal conflict* involves two or more individuals whose goals, beliefs, or actions cannot be reconciled or simultaneously achieved.
- *Intragroup conflict* occurs between members of a single group.
- *Intergroup conflict* takes place between two or more discrete groups of individuals.
- *International conflicts* occur between two or more nations.
- *Global conflict* occurs when human goals, actions, or beliefs cannot be reconciled, but the individuals involved do not necessarily belong to discrete groups or nations. Environmental problems are commonly related to the causes of some global conflicts.

4. Have students (in partner pairs) categorize the conflicts they listed earlier.

5. Ask students what the main types of conflicts were that were illustrated in the Readers' Theater in lesson two. *Interpersonal, intergroup, international.*

6. Inform students that they will now look at the various *elements of conflict*. Have them give examples of the six categories of conflict discussed earlier. These examples can be from their own personal experiences, the news, television, etc. List these examples on the chalkboard, and ask students to identify any commonalties between their examples.

7. Inform students that all conflicts have a *participant* or *participants*, and that each of these participants has *goals*. These goals involve *values, interests*, or *resources*. A conflict occurs if these values cannot exist simultaneously, if the interests cannot be realized simultaneously, or if the resources are scarce so that both participants cannot have them simultaneously. Write the following list on butcher paper or chalkboard:

ELEMENTS OF CONFLICT

Participants
Goals
Interruption
Management/Resolution Methods
Results

8. Ask for examples of goals involving values, interests, and resources in order to make sure that students understand these terms. *For example, value conflicts could be about different religions or moral beliefs; interest conflicts could be about status; resource conflicts could be about the supply of minerals.*

9. Explain to students that generally, participants are not aware of the conflict until some *interruption* has occurred. If the plans to meet the original goals are interrupted, then the participants must reformulate their plans or take different actions.

10. Tell students that there are many different methods participants can use to reformulate their plans or take different actions after such an interruption. *Ask students what some of these methods are. For example, argue, negotiate. These methods are taken either to resolve or to manage the conflict.*
    Make the following distinction:
    - A participant using a method of *conflict management* does not want to resolve the conflict, but also does not want the conflict to escalate.
    - A participant using a method of *conflict resolution* wants to resolve the conflict so that it no longer exists.

11. Discuss one of the conflicts students mentioned earlier or one of the conflicts presented in the Readers' Theater in lesson two by focusing on the following questions, which are based on the five elements of conflict:
    - Who were the participants in the conflict?
    - What were the respective goals of the participants?
    - What was the conflict between the participants?
    - What were some of the feelings and reactions of the participants?
    - What signs, evidence, and signals were there of conflict?
    - What options did each of the participants have in responding to the conflict?
    - Which of these options might help to resolve or manage the conflict?
    - Why are the conflicts presented in the Readers' Theater in lesson two difficult to resolve? *Ethnic and national conflicts are predominantly conflicts between identity groups, although they are also to some extent conflicts between interest groups, especially when these ethnic and national groups exert power over limited resources and/or territory. Conflicts between identity groups are about basic values and beliefs that cannot be bargained over or negotiated, in contrast to the bargaining and compromise reached between interest groups that happen to have opposing, but negotiable interests.*

12. Ask students to list examples of methods of conflict resolution and management. Write the following list on butcher paper or the chalkboard:

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MANAGEMENT METHODS
Negotiate
Litigate
Use pressure
Hold an election
Compete
Use force
Withdraw
Compromise

Supplement the list of methods with the following:

- *Negotiate*: Participants talk in order to resolve or manage their conflict. Points of agreement and disagreement are discussed. Negotiation may be informal, which means that parties discuss the issues in an unstructured environment, or it may be formal, which means that participants use a structured system in order to try and reach an agreement.
- *Litigate*: A participant sues the other participant in civil court or has charges brought against the person in criminal court; countries may file complaints against each other in the International Court of Justice.
- *Use Pressure:* A participant uses various methods of indirect coercion to influence and change the behavior of the other participant. Some types of pressure and examples include: boycotts, protests, strikes, or threats.
- *Hold an election:* In some settings, especially those within a single state, the process of voting to determine the outcome of a conflict is available.
- *Compete*: A participant may work singly to achieve an objective, hoping to reach the objective sooner that the other participant. Competition can be economic, political, military, social, etc.
- *Use Force*: Military or other physical force may be used by one participant to coerce the other participant into changing behavior.
- *Withdraw*: A participant may change goals in order to withdraw from the conflict.
- *Compromise*: A participant indicates a willingness to compromise its position and thereby changes its primary goals.

13. Ask students how they might categorize the conflict resolution and management methods they have discussed. Examples of categorization include:
    - methods that utilize force and those that don't
    - methods that operate through institutions and those which don't
    - methods that encourage cooperation and those which don't
    - methods that require or encourage consensus decision making between participants and those that don't

14. Ask students to identify two ethnic or national conflicts presented to them in lesson two and ask them to suggest strategies that would allow the participants to resolve or manage their conflict.

15. Finally, ask students to name some specific kinds of conflict resolution or management results. Some possible answers include: the conflict disappears, a new conflict arises between the same participants or between new participants, the entire conflict remains, the conflict has escalated, part of the conflict remains.

16. Write the following list on butcher paper or the chalkboard and inform students that results often fall into one of the following categories:

RESULTS OF CONFLICT

Win-Win:
Both participants appear to "win" or achieve their primary goals.

Win-Lose
Only one participant appears to "win" or achieve its primary goals.

Lose-Lose
Neither participant achieves its primary goals.

17. Bring closure to part one of this lesson by reviewing the following, emphasizing national and ethnic conflicts: the six types of conflict, the key elements of conflict, conflict management and resolution methods, and results of conflict.

18. Ask students to draw a political cartoon illustrating any international conflict from the past or present, keeping the elements of conflict. Ask students to share their cartoons with the rest of the class.

Distribute a copy of Handout 4A, *Slugonia—A Multinational State*, to each student. Ask students to prepare for the second part of this lesson by reading Handout 4A. The information contained in Handout 4A is absolutely crucial for running the simulation in part two of this lesson.

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PART TWO: SLUGONIA—A SIMULATION

Simulation Overview

The following simulation is designed to allow students to explore conflict by playing the roles of members of a specific nation within a multi-national state. Students have to think about their identity and become actively involved in situations which either result in the resolution of conflicts or lead to an escalation of conflicts. Students will realize that ethnic conflicts and conflicts between nations are more complex and also differ from other sorts of internal conflicts, such as revolutions or coups d'État, since these conflicts are predominantly about basic values and beliefs that cannot be bargained over or negotiated that easily (as opposed to the bargaining and compromise reached between interest groups that happen to have opposing, but negotiable interests).

In this simulation, students will be divided into three national groups in the multinational state of *Slugonia*. The three groups, each of them maintaining more or less its own territory, are:

- the *Blatts*, who are Slugonia's largest nationality. Most of the Blatts live in *Blatistan*, Slugonia's eastern republic. *Blato*, the capital of Blatistan, is also the seat of the Slugonian government.
- the *Slobenians*, who are Slugonia's second largest nationality. Most of the Slobenians live in *Slobenia*, Slugonia's western republic. *Slobo* is Slobenia's capital.
- the *Arkadians*, who are Slugonia's smallest nationality. *Arkadia* is Slugonia's smallest and most ethnically mixed republic. Its capital is *Arko*. Arkadians are the ruling majority in Arkadia. The rest of the republic's population is either Slobenian and Blatt.

There are small Blattish communities in Slobenia and Slobenian communities in Blatistan, mainly on either side of the border between the two republics. Most of the political power of the Slugonian state is centered within the state government in Blato, which has been dominated by Blattish politicians. Up to now, the republics have enjoyed only little autonomy.

Since the early 1990s, a wide spread fear has existed that after the end of communist suppression Slugonia will fall apart, with its long-simmering tensions among the different nationalities coming out in the open again. State-wide elections have been demanded by the three national groups.

When states like Slugonia exist, conflicts between its national groups are difficult to avoid. Ideally, these conflicts are dealt with in the political arena. Resolutions to conflicts are often formulated in formal institutions of local and state governments. However, in many situations, the conflict issues are not resolved within the institutional framework, but are raised outside the legal structures. More often, terrorism and other forms of violence become tools of competing nationalities.

Running the Simulation

Divide the room into three sections (one section for each republic), and make posters to identify the three republics. Leave some open space in the center of the classroom.

Copy enough "Identity" Cards and name tags (Handouts 4B and 4C); a guide on how many cards you need is provided in the *Distribution Guide*. We recommend that you have extra name tags of each group (Slobenians, Blatts, and Arkadians) because students have to decide which group they will identify themselves with.

In order to keep the structure of the simulation as open-ended as possible, the "Identity" Cards were designed to give students a chance to select their own identity. Each "Identity" Card differs slightly. For instance, different cards place students in the different republics of Slugonia. In addition to the general information given to students in Handout 4A, *Slugonia—A Multinational State*, they will use the information on the cards to decide upon their identity. For instance, were their parents of a certain national group? Have they lived in other areas of Slugonia? Are they married to someone from another national group? Do they live in an area of mixed national groups? Were they born before or after World War II, and might the war bring back certain memories? What language(s) do they speak?. Although the information given to students might suggest a certain identity, students might find it difficult to decide "who they are." This internal conflict is intentional.

Remind the students that it is crucial that they have familiarized her-/himself with the information given to her/him in Handout 4A, *Slugonia—A Multinational State*. Explain to students that they will be participating in the first democratically held elections in Slugonia, which will decide on the future of Slugonia and its three republics, Blatistan, Slobenia, and Arkadia. The elections will be observed by representatives of the United Nations. Each student will receive an "Identity" Card helping him or her to decide which group he or she belongs to, and which policy changes to demand. Students will use the information in Handout 4A, *Slugonia—A Multinational State* as well as the information on their "Identity" Cards to make those decisions.

Distribution Guide:

The Distribution Guide should ensure that the Blatts are the largest group, the Slobenians are the second largest, and the Arkadians are the smallest. It is important, however, to remember that the actual mix of Slobenians, Blatts, and Arkadians might vary slightly, depending on what identities the students finally chose for themselves.

Distribution Guide

Total # of students	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
UN Observers	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
"Identity" Card #1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
"Identity" Card #2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
"Identity" Card #3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
"Identity" Card #4	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
"Identity" Card #5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
"Identity" Card #6	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
"Identity" Card #7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
"Identity" Card #20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Suggested Procedures

1. Place enough copies of name tags (Handout 4C) on a table in front of the classroom. Remind students to have available their copy of Handout 4A, *Slugonia—A Multinational State*.

2. Assign three students to the role of United Nations Observer and distribute one copy of Handout 4D, *United Nations Observers—Instructions*, and Handout 4E, *Demand List*, to each of the three students. They will have five minutes to read over their handouts. Distribute one copy of Handout 4F, *United Nations Observers—Election Results*, to one of the three United Nations Observers. Remind them to work together when tallying the election results.

3. Distribute one "Identity' Card to each of the remaining students (see Handout 4B and the Distribution Guide for detailed information).

4. Students will have five minutes to read over their "Identity" Cards. Students should decide, based on the information given to them in Handout 4A and their "Identity" Cards, which group they identity with: the Slobenians, the Arkadians, or the Blatts.

5. Students will then choose one of the name tags displayed from the table in front of the classroom, depending on what they think their identity is.

6. *Grouping by identity:*

   Students will now group themselves according to the name tags they have chosen, that is according to their identities. Give members of each group enough time to share the following information with the rest of the group:

   - Where do they live?
   - Why do they identify themselves with that particular group? How strongly do they feel about their identity?
   - In view of the upcoming elections, what changes would they like to see?

7. *Grouping by republic:*

   After all the members of each group have shared their information with the rest of their group, students will then form new groups, depending on where they live. For example, everybody who lives in Slobenia will assemble in the area identified as Slobenia. Please note that not everybody who lives in Slobenia might consider him- or herself Slobenian. Some might consider themselves members of another national group. These groups represent the three republics. Ask students to move to their designated republics.

8. The United Nations Observers should join the republic indicated on their name tags. They will then explain the purpose of the gathering to the republics by giving their copy of Handout 4E, *Demand List*, to their group. Handout 4E contains detailed instructions for each republic. Each of the three United Nations Observers will then remain with his or her republic to direct and observe the proceedings.

9. Each republic will have five minutes to discuss its general goals and possible strategies for achieving those goals.

10. Each republic may select a representative to discuss its goals and strategies with representatives of the other two republics. Representatives of each republic may meet in the center of the classroom.

11. After five minutes, the representatives return to their republics and each republic finalizes its goals and strategies.

12. Each republic will vote on up to three demands. Each demand must be approved by a majority (51 percent) of all the members of that republic. Each member of the republic has an equal vote. Each republic will then submit its demand list to the United Nations Observer.

13. The United Nations Observers will read the demands to the General Assembly of Slugonia. The General Assembly of Slugonia is composed of all citizens of Slugonia. After each demand is read, and before the General Assembly of Slugonia votes on that demand, a speaker from the republic submitting the demand may make a one-minute speech to persuade members of the other republics to support its demand.

14. After the speech in support of a demand, the General Assembly of Slugonia votes on that demand. Each student has an equal vote in the General Assembly, regardless of her or his identity or place of residence. Votes are decided by majority (51 percent). The United Nations Observers keep track of the votes and use Handout 4F, *United Nations Observers—Election Results*, to create a list of all the demands and whether they passed or failed.

Simulation Debriefing

The main purpose of the debriefing is to discuss how students related to each other during the simulation, and to examine the key elements of conflict.

After having the students air some general feelings about the simulation, ask the United Nations Observers to report back to the class using the questions listed in Handout 4D, *United Nations Observers—Instructions*. Together with the class, analyze the simulation by referring to the five key elements of conflict (see part one of this lesson for the five key elements of conflicts and some sample questions, for example, Who were the participants in the conflict? What were the respective goals? Do these goals relate to values, interests, or resources? What resolution and management methods could each participant/group have used to deal with the conflict? etc.). In addition, you might want to ask the whole class some of the following questions:

1. How did you feel when you had chosen your identity, as either a Slobenian, a Blatt or an Arkadian?

2. How did you feel about your community and republic? Were there any conflicts within your group? How did you perceive the other groups?

3. If you could have lived anywhere within Slugonia, where would you have preferred to live? Why?

4. Were there any leaders within your group or within Slugonia who used methods that utilized manipulation or force? If yes, what did you or your group do about it?

5. What were the goals of each group? What was the group's justification for its goals?

6. What was the outcome of the simulation?

7. Have the conflicts been managed or resolved?

8. Did members of any group consider the use of violence as a method of conflict resolution? What were the reasons given by these members for choosing violence? What reasons could have been given for choosing nonviolence?

8. Was the result a "win-win," "win-lose," or "lose-lose" outcome?

9. What could or should the international community or the United Nations do in response to the results that occurred?

Bringing Closure to the Curriculum Unit

1. Bring closure to this curriculum unit by describing the debate about how interpersonal conflicts and international conflicts are related using the following information:
   - Many historians and international relations experts believe that the behavior of nations involved in conflict is like the behavior of individuals in interpersonal conflicts, because, in fact, it is individuals who are always interacting with each other. If this is true, then it would seem that nations can manage or resolve their conflicts in many of the same ways that individuals do. A further implication is that if international conflicts are composed of interpersonal conflicts, then one way to resolve an international conflict is to resolve the interpersonal conflicts or improve person-to-person relations.
   - On the other hand, some historians and international relations experts maintain that analogies between interpersonal and international conflicts are misleading. They claim that a nation's behavior is unlike individual behavior and that the options for nations when managing conflicts are distinct from the options for individuals. An implication of this viewpoint is that bad policy judgments can result from making analogies between the two levels of conflict. A further implication is that different moral frameworks exist at personal and world levels.

2. Discuss with students the possible analogies between interpersonal and international conflicts by asking the following questions:
   - If students have a conflict, do they usually resolve their conflict nonviolently?
   - Do we learn to use nonviolent resolution methods or do these methods come naturally?
   - Are there certain situations in which students use violence to resolve conflicts?
   - What role does law play in the use of nonviolence as a conflict resolution or management method in interpersonal and international conflicts?
   - Is anyone ever legally authorized or required to use violence?

3. Review some of the key questions related to group formation and group identity, and both their advantages and disadvantages:
   - Why do people form groups? What are the advantages and disadvantages of group identity and group formation? "Us" versus "Them"; "Including" and "Excluding"; "Unifying" and "Dividing".
   - What conditions might cause a group (ethnic group, nation) to move from an inclusive, unifying idea of identity to an exclusive, dividing idea?
   - In summary, how do you resolve conflicts between identity groups (between ethnic groups, nations)? What principle ideas does a civil society need in order to avoid conflicts between its various members?

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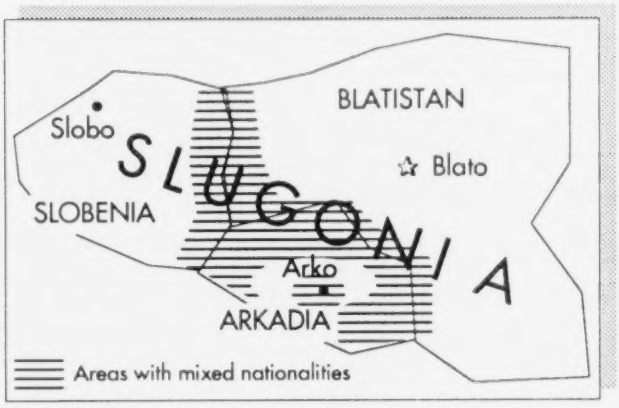
SLUGONIA—A MULTINATIONAL STATE[83] (1 of 2)



Slugonia, which was formed in 1918, had never before appeared on the political map. Rather than being the homeland of a single people, Slugonia brought together three major nations, each with a strong sense of identity and a distinct cultural community. Slugonia's three republics are *Blatistan*, *Slobenia*, and *Arkadia*..

The Blatts, who had established an independent kingdom before World War I (the Kingdom of Blatistan), are Slugonia's largest nationality. They are predominantly *Eastern Orthodox Christians* who have always looked toward Russia as their natural ally. They use the *Cyrillic script* and their traditions and experiences were influenced by their long period under the rule of the Turks. All of Slugonia's official holidays are celebrations of the Eastern Orthodox Church or remember the history of the Kingdom of Blatistan.

The Slobenians are predominantly *Catholic* or *Protestant*, use the *Latin alphabet*, and consider themselves closely tied to the civilization of central Europe. Slobenians are the second largest nationality in Slugonia.

Arkadia is Slugonia's *most ethnically mixed republic*, with all three nationalities represented—a *"little Slugonia,"* where *Arkadians*, Blatts, and Slobenians have lived side-by-side for centuries. Arkadians are the smallest nationality in Slugonia, but they are the ruling majority in Arkadia. Arkadians are predominantly *Muslim*. The languages spoken by all three nationalities share the same origin. Although each nationality speaks its own language when carrying out daily activities, the *official language is Blattish*, the language spoken by the Blatts. Blattish is the only language taught in schools and at universities, and speaking Blattish is also a requirement for any job with the Slugonian government.

An Unequal Partnership:

Because the Blatts form the majority group in Slugonia, Slugonia's Blattish leaders believed that they were justified in dominating the new state. Not only had the Blatts gained experience in self-government before the war, but their army had fought fiercely against Austro-Hungarian forces during World War I. The Slobenians and the Arkadians, however, resented Blattish control.

Slugonia's political foundation was shaky from the start. At the core of the country's instability was the friction between Slugonia's two largest nationalities, the Blatts and the Slobenians. Indeed, the constitution, produced in 1921, concentrated power in Blato, the capital of both the new Slugonia and the old Blatistan The Slugonian army was led almost exclusively by Blattish officers, while Blatts comprised the majority of the top officials in the government. Little progress was made toward forging a Slugonian identity.

World War II:

Slugonia's internal divisions intensified before World War II. In the early 1930s, an extreme nationalist movement in Slobenia gained strength. This group was dedicated to achieving independence from dominant Blatts through insurrection and terror and became notorious for atrocities committed against people of other nationalities in Slugonia, many of whom were Blattish Orthodox Christians.

More than one million people died in Slugonia during the war. Roughly half of them were Blatts, many of whom were killed at the hands of the extreme nationalist Slobenian group. In addition. A guerrilla movement, existing mainly of Blatts, emerged to resist the extreme nationalist Slobenian group.

The Future of Slugonia:

In 1980, Slugonia entered a period of economic and political crisis. Slobenia went into a deep recession, and with it the economy of the entire state, because Slugonia's economic success depended largely on Slobenia's economic performance. With communist rule gone in 1991, there was a widespread fear that long-simmering tensions among the different national groups in Slugonia, combined with the unequal distribution of economic and political power and natural resources, would come out in the open again; memories of World War II were refreshed on both sides of the Slobenian-Blattish border. Slugonians, especially in Slobenia and Arkadia, demanded more control over their own regions, whether it was related to schools and universities, political representation, radio or TV programs, ethnic and religious holidays, or infrastructure.

In anticipation of the first democratically held elections, the United Nations decided to send UN observers to Slugonia, monitoring the elections in the republics as well as on the state level. In a recent interview, the Secretary General of the United Nations declared that Europe and the international community must be prepared to stop any conflict in Slugonia. In particular, she was concerned that the divisions separating Slugonia's various nationalities could grow increasingly sharp. She feared that the Blattish government could try to preserve Slugonia by all possible means and centralize power in Blato, or even expand areas of Blattish domination in Slobenia and Arkadia. On the other side, Slobenian and Arkadian leaders might want to push for a loose confederation, or even independence, although they had admitted that independent countries of their size would find it difficult to survive in a more politically, environmentally, and economically interdependent world.

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"IDENTITY" CARDS (1 of 10)

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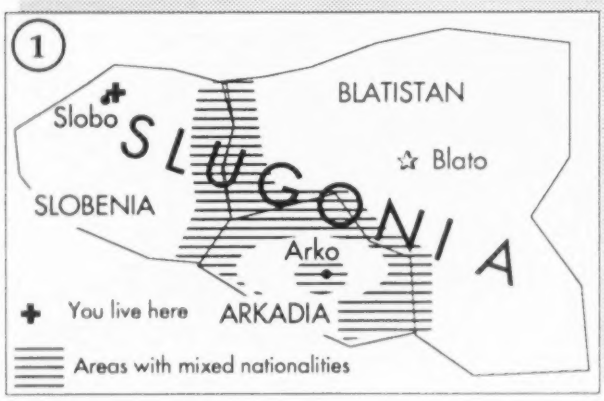
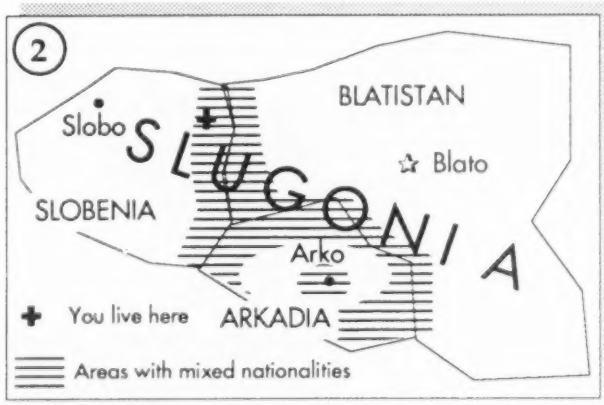


You live in Slobo, the capital of Slobenia, a large metropolitan area, with only a small Blattish and Arkadian community. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Slobenian families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in the eastern part of Slobenia. You were born after World War II, and your parents come from old Slobenian families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Blato, comes from a Blattish family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (2 of 10)

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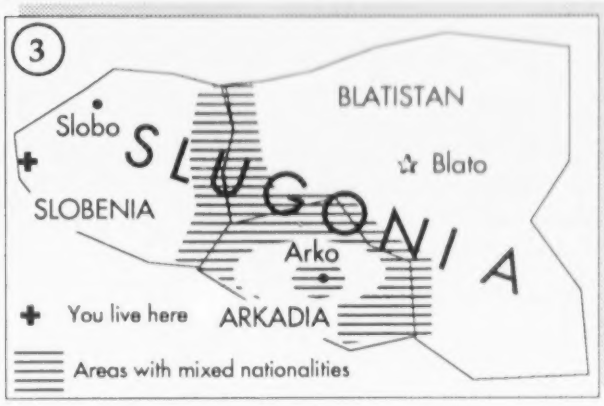
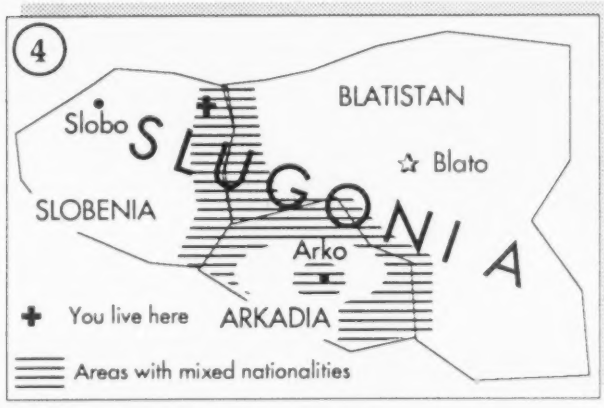


You live in the most western part of Slobenia, a rural area where almost no Blattish or Arkadian families live. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Slobenian families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in the eastern part of Slobenia. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Slobenian families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

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"IDENTITY" CARDS (3 of 10)

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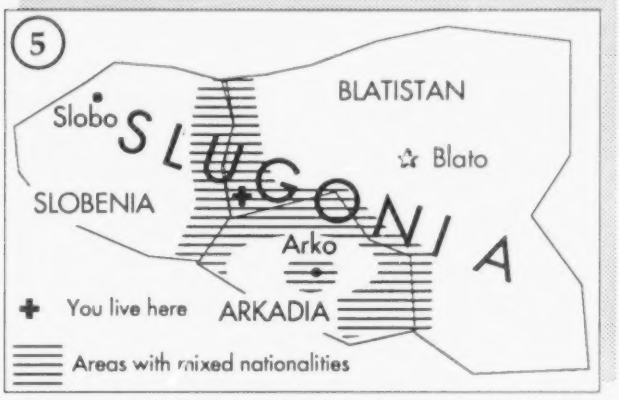
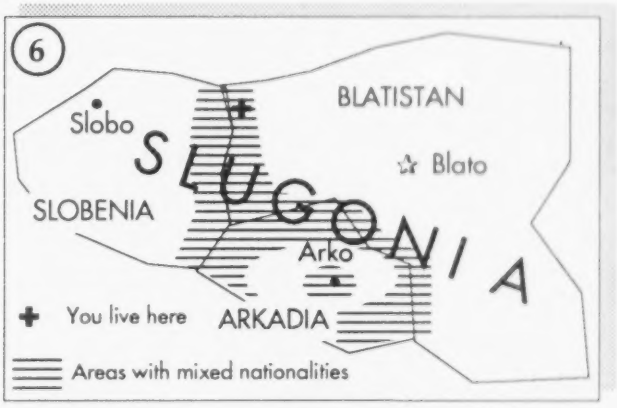


You live in western Blatistan, close to the border between Blatistan and Slobenia. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Slobenian families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in western Blatistan, close to the border between Blatistan and Slobenia. You were born after World War II, and your parents come from old Slobenian families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Blato, comes from a Blattish family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (4 of 10)

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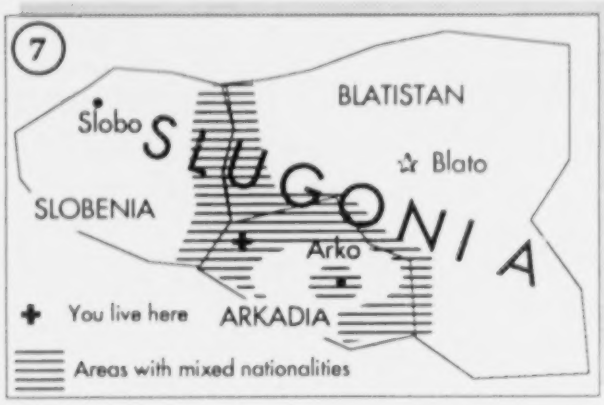
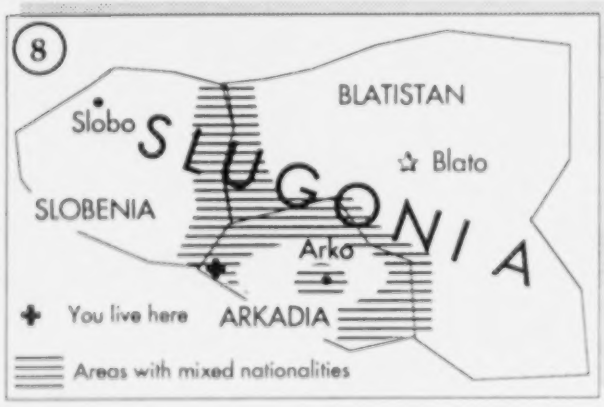


You live in western Arkadia, close to the border between Arkadia, Blatistan and Slobenia. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Slobenian families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in western Arkadia, close to the border between Arkadia and Slobenia. You were born after World War II, and your parents come from old Slobenian families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Arko, comes from an Arkadian Muslim family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (5 of 10)

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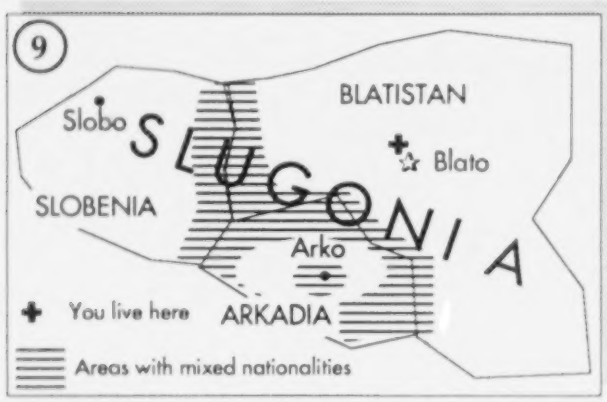
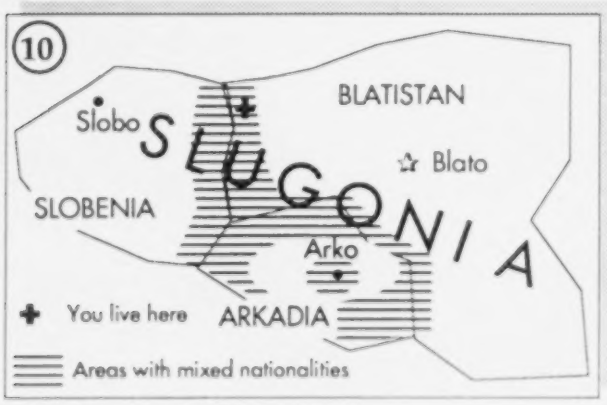


You live in Blato, the capital of Blatistan, a large metropolitan area, with only a small Slobenian and Arkadian community. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Blattish families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in the western part of Blatistan. You were born after World War II, and your parents come from old Blattish families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Slobo, comes from a Slobenian family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (6 of 10)

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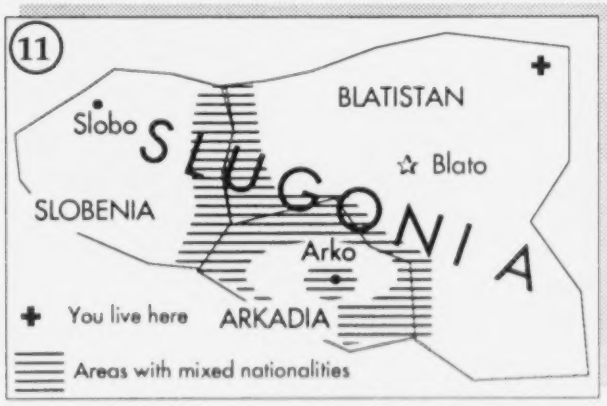
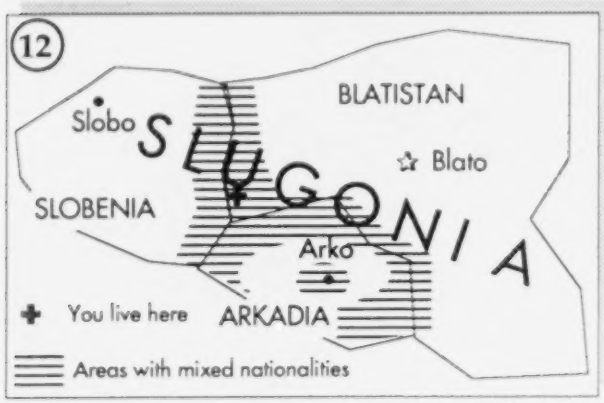


You live in the most eastern part of Blatistan, a rural area where almost no Slobenian or Arkadian families live. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Blattish families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in the western part of Blatistan. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Blattish families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (7 of 10)

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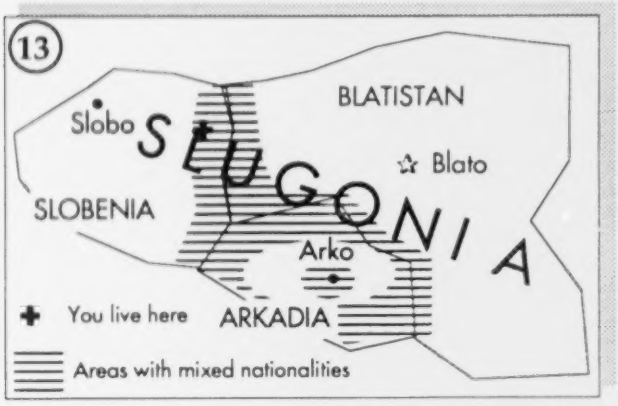

You live in eastern Slobenia, close to the border between Blatistan and Slobenia. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Blattish families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

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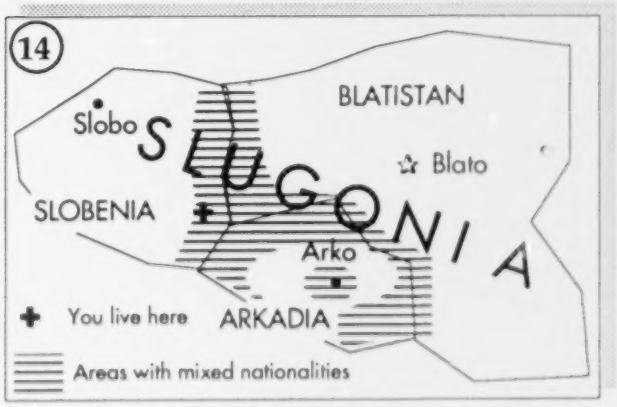
Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in eastern Slobenia, close to the border between Blatistan and Slobenia. You were born after World War II, and your parents come from old Blattish families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Slobo, comes from a Slobenian family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (8 of 10)

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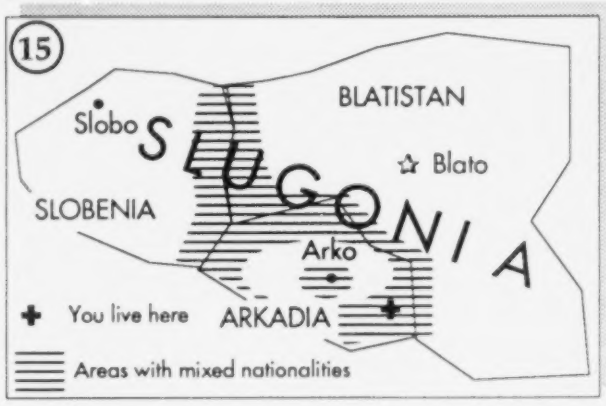
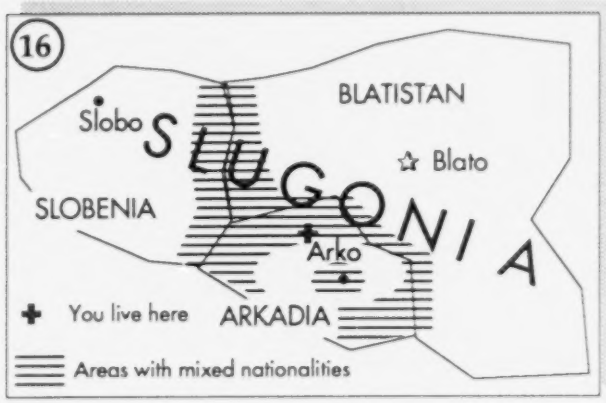


You live in eastern Arkadia, close to the border between Arkadia and Blatistan. You were born before World War II, and both your parents and your spouse come from old Blattish families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in northern Arkadia, close to the border between Arkadia and Blatistan. You were born after World War II, and your parents come from old Blattish families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Arko, comes from an Arkadian Muslim family.

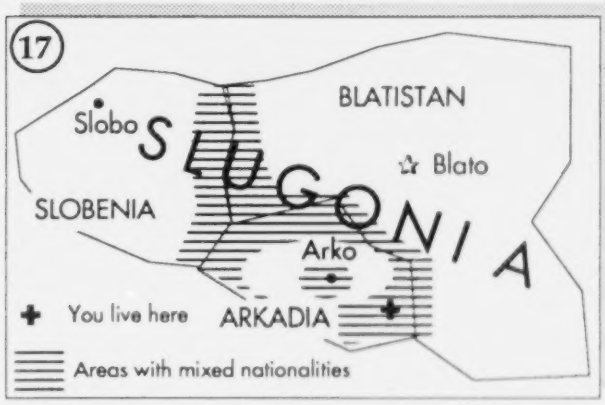
Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (9 of 10)

Please cut along the dotted lines and paste onto index cards of appropriate size.

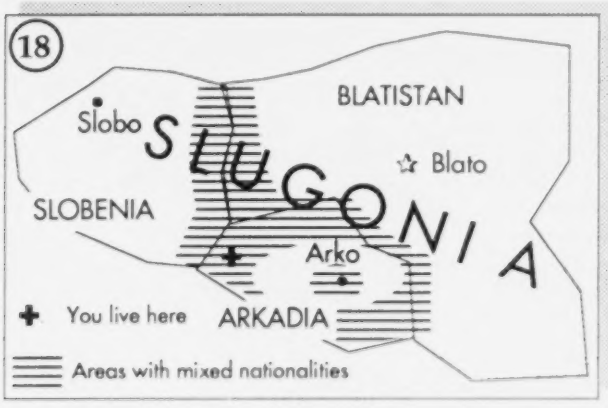


You live in eastern Arkadia. Both your parents are from Arkadian Muslim families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Blato, comes from a Blattish family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in western Arkadia, close to the border between Arkadia and Slobenia. Your parents come from Arkadian Muslim families. Your spouse, whom you met while you were living and working in Slobo, comes from a Slobenian family.

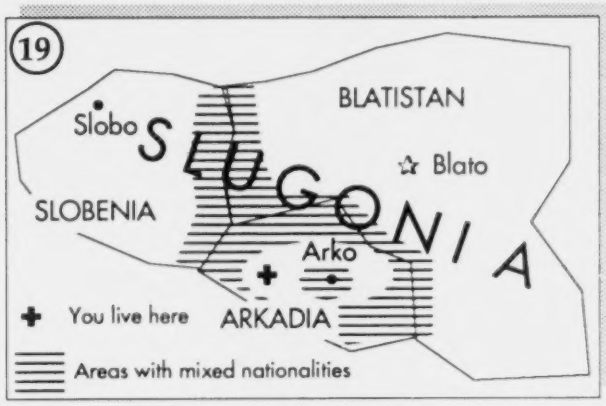
Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

"IDENTITY" CARDS (10 of 10)

Please cut along the dotted lines and paste onto index cards of appropriate size.

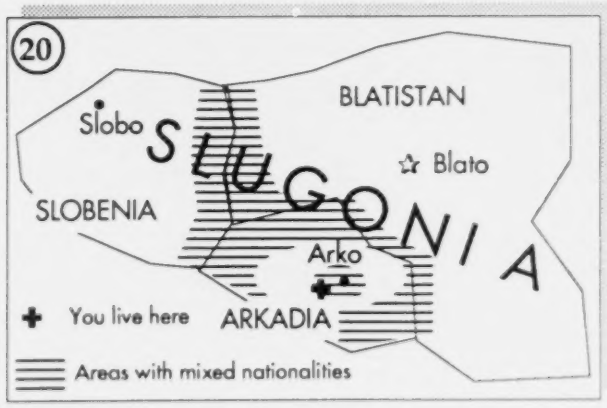


You live east of Arko, the capital of Arkadia. Both your parents and your spouse come from old Arkadian Muslim families.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?



You live in Arko, the capital of Arkadia. Both your parents and your spouse from an Arkadian Muslim family.

Based on the information given to you earlier in Handout 4A, and the information on this card, decide with which group you identify yourself. You must decide on one of the three nationalities. Once you have made a decision, pick up the corresponding name tag and join your fellow students with the same identity.

Think about the following questions.

- ❒ How important is your national heritage to you?
- ❒ How do you feel about having contact with members of other nationalities?
- ❒ Where does your loyalty rest?

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NAME TAGS (1 of 3)

Slobenian	Slobenian
Slobenian	Slobenian
Slobenian	Slobenian
Slobenian	Slobenian
Slobenian	UN Observer (Blatistan)

NAME TAGS (2 of 3)

Blatt	Blatt
Blatt	Blatt
Blatt	Blatt
Blatt	Blatt
Blatt	UN Observer (Slobenia)

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NAME TAGS (3 of 3)

Arkadian	Arkadian
Arkadian	Arkadian
Arkadian	Arkadian
Arkadian	Arkadian
Arkadian	UN Observer (Arkadia)

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS—INSTRUCTIONS (1 of 2)

You are a member of the United Nations Observer team sent to Slugonia to monitor the first democratically held elections. To prepare for your report to the Security Council of the United Nations in New York, you must pay careful attention to the proceedings of the debate and the decisions being made in your group. Answer the questions on page two of this handout. You will be later asked to report back to the Security Council (the class) on the election result and on what you have observed. It is also your responsibility to:

1. Familiarize yourself with the election procedures listed below.
2. Distribute a copy of Handout 4E, *Demand List*, to your republic.
3. Answer any questions members of your republic might have with regards to the election procedures.
4. Let them know when to proceed with the next step in the election process.
5. Collect the demand list from your group.
6. Read the demands submitted to you to the General Assembly of Slugonia, and give a representative of your republic one minute to make a speech in support the demand before the General Assembly.
7. Coordinate the election with your colleagues (keep track of the demands and the results.)

Election Procedures:

1. Members of your republic will have five minutes to discuss what policy changes they will demand during these elections.
2. As a republic, they may list up to three demands. Each demand must be approved by a majority (51%) of all the members in their group.
3. Before listing their three demands, the members of your republic may send a representative to discuss their goals and strategies for five minutes with representatives from the other two republics.
4. When representatives return to their republics, members have another five minutes to finalize their three demands before they submit their demand list to you.
5. You will present the demand list to the General Assembly of Slugonia. Before the General Assembly of Slugonia votes on each of your republic's demands, a speaker of your republic may make a one-minute speech to persuade members of the other two republics to support their demand.
6. After your republic has made the speech in support of the demand, the General Assembly of Slugonia votes on the demand. The General Assembly of Slugonia is composed of all citizens of Slugonia. Each member of your republic, as well as the other two republics, has an equal vote, regardless of her or his identity or place of residence. Votes are decided by majority (51%). You and your two colleagues will keep track of the demands submitted to the General Assembly of Slugonia and the election results.

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS—INSTRUCTIONS (2 of 2)

1. How did the republic you were observing arrive at a decision that reflected that republic's goals?

2. Describe any conflicts that were going on within your republic. Why did the conflict(s) occur? What triggered the conflict? Who was involved?

3. Did any member of your republic try to resolve/manage the conflict? Which method(s) have been used?

4. How did members of your republic interact with members from the other two republics?

DEMAND LIST

1. **Within your republic, discuss what policy changes you as a group will demand during these elections.**
2. **As a republic, you may list up to three demands. Each demand must be approved by a majority (51%) of all the members in your republic.**
3. **Before you list the three demands, you may send a representative of your republic to discuss your goals and strategies with representatives of the other two republics. Your United Nations Observer will give your further details.**
4. **Once you have finalized your three demands, submit this list to your United Nations Observer.**
5. **Your United Nations Observer will present your demands to the General Assembly of Slugonia. Before the General Assembly of Slugonia votes on each of your republic's demands, a speaker of your republic may make a one-minute speech to persuade members of the other two republics to support your demands.**
6. **After the speaker of your republic has made the speech in support of your demands, the General Assembly of Slugonia will vote on your demand. The General Assembly of Slugonia is composed of all citizens of Slugonia, that is, each member of your republic, as well as the other two republics, has an equal vote, regardless of her or his national identity or place of residence. Votes are decided by majority (51%). The United Nations Observers will keep track of the demands submitted to the general Assembly of Slugonia and will present the election results.**

List your demands here and then submit this list to your United Nations Observer:

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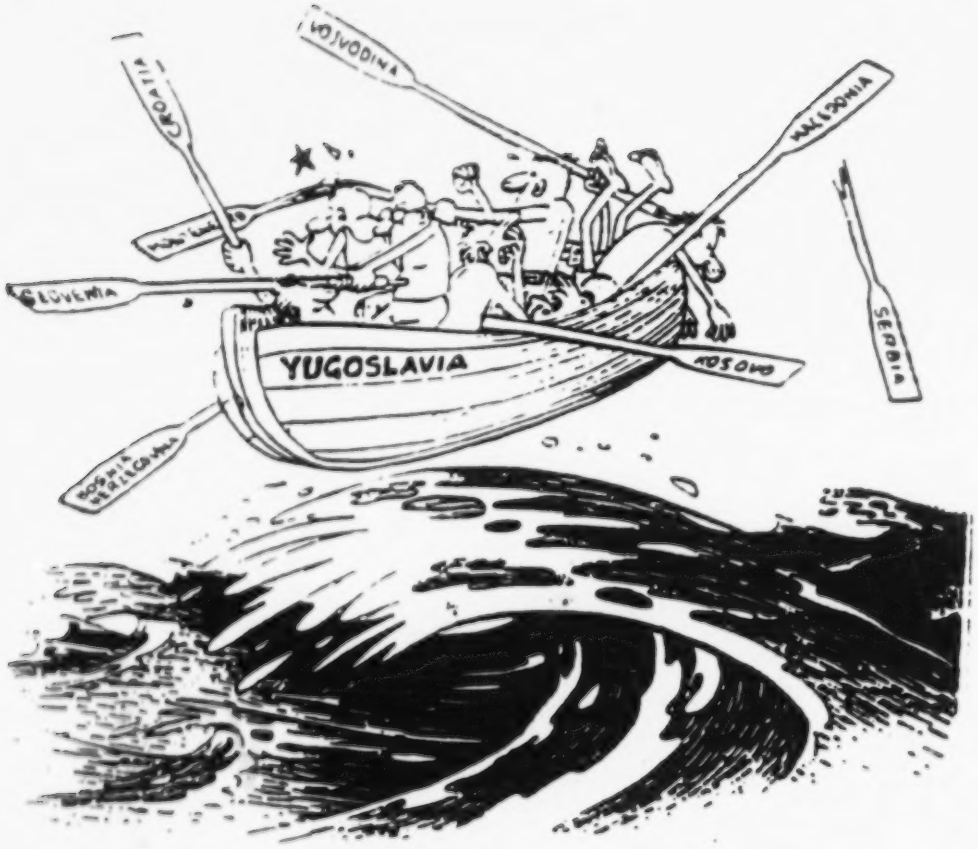
UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER—ELECTION RESULTS

POLICY DEMAND (WHICH REPUBLIC?)	ACCEPTED	REJECTED

A Cartoonist's Perspective



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APPENDIX

SUGGESTED READINGS ON ETHNIC CONFLICTS

General

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Foreign Policy Association
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Access Guide to Ethnic Conflicts i nEurope and the Former Soviet Union
Issue guide
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After the Cold War: The US Role in Europe's Transition
Curriculum Unit, 1993
Brown University - Center for Foreign Policy Development's Choices Project (hereafter referred to as CFP)
Tel (401) 863-3155
Fax (401) 863-7440

The Anatomy of a Conflict
Curriculum Material, 1993
Stanford University - Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (hereafter referred to as SPICE)
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Fax (415)723-6784

Conflict Resolution Skills Training Manual
Educational Manual, 1993
Balkan Peace Project
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fax (617) 491-6904

Eastern Europe: The Unfinished Revolution
Curriculum Material, 1993
SPICE
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Free to Choose: A Teacher's Guide to Revolution and Reform in Eastern Europe
Curriculum Material, 1993
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Going to War? Bosnia and Beyond
Discussion Program, 1993
Study Circles Resource Center
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Northern European Affairs
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Fax: (212) 751-9019

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NOTES

Lesson One

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